CICERO DE SENECTUTE

REVISED EDITION

Tuesday.

John Fletcher

M. TULLI CICERONIS
CATO MAIOR DE SENECTUTE
A DIALOGUE ON OLD AGE

EDITED BY

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PREFACE

It has been the aim of this revision to preserve the general characteristics of the old edition while making such changes as newly accessible material and new methods of instruction have made desirable, — such changes as the original editors would have been likely to make if they had lived to carry through the work of revision.

In the introduction a few new paragraphs have been incorporated, and some alterations made in the old text. In the notes some simple grammatical explanations and references, and some translations of easy words and phrases, have been omitted, a few notes have been altered or expanded, and a considerable number of new notes added, though it has been the aim not to mar the simplicity characteristic of the old edition by elaborate annotation. The notes on persons, except such parts of them as seemed necessary for the understanding of the text to which they apply, have been taken out of the main body of the notes and put together in an alphabetical index at the end of the book.

There have been added to the book a brief discussion of the title and date, a genealogical table of the Scipios, a table of Greek philosophers, and a few chapters from the *de Agricultura* of Cato, which may form the basis for a comparison between the style and method of the real Cato and the Ciceronian Cato.

In the revision of the text the edition of C. F. W. Müller (1879) has been taken as the basis, but the critical material that has appeared since then has been taken into account, and in a number of cases the readings of the old edition have

been retained when they differ from those of Müller. It has not seemed necessary to include in this edition a complete critical apparatus, but the differences in the old edition, the new edition, and Müller's have been tabulated in an appendix, with a few notes on the more doubtful cases.

Sincere thanks are due to Professor G. L. Fiske and Professor Grant Showerman for valuable suggestions and criticisms, and in particular to Professor M. S. Slaughter, who has read and criticised the entire revision.

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INTRODUCTION

Greek philosophy, at its beginning, six centuries before our era, had consisted in fanciful speculations upon the source and origin of the universe. But by the time of Cicero it had come to embrace all human knowledge and to be the substance of all liberal education. It consisted of three divisions, — natural philosophy, ethics, and dialectics, of which the second was regarded as the most important. The writings of the early Roman poets, beginning with Ennius, abound in ideas taken from Greek philosophy, but this learning was first formally introduced among the Romans in 155 B.C., when Carneades the Academician, Critolaus the Peripatetic, and Diogenes the Stoic, the most famous philosophers of their time, came on an embassy from Athens to Rome and discoursed upon their respective doctrines. Their learning and eloquence captivated the young nobles, especially Scipio and Laelius, who are introduced in the following treatise. The Stoic Panaetius also, about the same time, was welcomed in Rome by Scipio.

From this time on, all young Romans of distinction were instructed in the new education, and Stoic philosophy in particular became very popular. The first, however, to commit their views to writing (with the exception of the poets already mentioned) were certain Epicureans.[1] In Cicero's time this same school is represented by Lucretius with his *de Rerum Natura*, one of the greatest poems in Latin literature. The other schools, though they won ardent adherents in Rome, seem to have found no one to represent them in literature before Cicero himself. Cicero had been carefully educated in

[1] Amafinius, Rabirius, Catius. See Cic. *Ac.* 1, 5; *ad Fam.* 15, 19, 2.

philosophy and always retained an interest in it, of which his orations contain many indications. He had at various times in his life come in contact with Greek representatives of all the important schools of philosophy. In his early youth he had studied with the Epicurean Phaedrus, and at first was largely influenced by the teachings of that school. Later he studied logic under the Stoic Diodotus, and lastly he imbibed the Academic ideas from Philo, who came to Rome in B.C. 88. From 79 to 77 he lived at Athens and Rhodes, where he again came strongly under Academic and Stoic influences. Besides devoting himself so extensively to the definite study of Greek philosophy under these instructors, Cicero gave much time throughout his life, particularly in his periods of enforced leisure from political activity, to the reading of philosophy. From the time of his acquaintance with Philo he classed himself with the New Academics, but he was in reality an eclectic, choosing from each system what seemed good to him. In particular, the influence of Plato upon him was very great.

He early formed the design of setting forth in Latin the whole body of philosophy, a design which he may be said in the main to have accomplished.[1] He had, however, for the minute metaphysical speculations of Greek philosophy little taste. In this he was at one with most of his countrymen, and for their satisfaction and his own he studied and reproduced in his philosophical works mainly the practical ethics of his masters. He nowhere lays claim to originality, even along these lines. From the Greeks he adopts and adapts what suits him, sets it forth in choice Latin enriched and made luminous

[1] The titles of these works are as follows (those marked with an asterisk are not extant): *de Republica*, *de Legibus*, *Paradoxa*, *Consolatio** (for the death of Tullia), *Hortensius*,* *de Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, *Academica*, *Tusculanae Disputationes*, *Timaeus*, *de Natura Deorum*, *Cato Maior* (*de Senectute*), *de Divinatione*, *de Fato*, *Laelius* (*de Amicitia*), *de Gloria*,* *de Officiis*, *de Virtutibus*,* *de Auguriis*.*

by numerous illustrations drawn from Roman history and politics, and thus gives a new lease of life and a wider sphere of usefulness to the loftiest thoughts and noblest ideals of his predecessors. In this lies the value of his philosophical writings to his countrymen and to the world.

The circumstances which led Cicero to devote himself, especially in his later years, to philosophy were both personal and political. At an earlier period, when, after his return from exile, he was politically in the background, he had written the *de Republica* and begun the *de Legibus*, — showing by the very titles of these works that his interest in philosophy was largely that of the statesman. But in the later period (47–43) the situation was more complicated and the influence of circumstances turned his interest along other and more purely philosophical lines.

During the first year of Caesar's supremacy (B.C. 46) we are told that he gathered a sort of school about him in his retreat at Tusculum, where "he trained Pansa, Hirtius, and Dolabella like a preceptor," seeking distraction from the defeats and calamities of his public life.[1] The death of his daughter Tullia, early in the following year, with other and more ignoble domestic sorrows, confirmed his disposition to solitude, and his desire to find comfort in "the calm and still air of delightful studies."[2]

[1] "While I languished in idleness, and the condition of the State was such that it must needs be ruled by one man's counsel and care, I thought, first, that philosophy should be unfolded to our people for the sake of the State itself, holding it to be of great consequence to the honor and glory of the body politic (*civitas*) that things so noble and weighty should be had in Latin writings. I was urged to this, besides, by that sorrow of heart, caused by the great and heavy blows of fortune for which, if I could have found any greater comfort, I should not have taken refuge primarily in this; but in no way can I better share that comfort than by giving myself not only to the reading of books, but to the handling of philosophy at large." — *N. D.* 1, 7.

[2] *Ad Att.* 12, 28: *Maerorem minui; dolorem nec potui, nec si possem vellem.*

The memory of his griefs he sought to banish by spending whole days in composition. To this period belong, among other philosophical writings, the *Academica*, the *de Finibus*, the *Tusculanae Disputationes*, the *de Natura Deorum*, and with little doubt the *Cato Maior* (*de Senectute*). The death of Caesar, with the new political hopes it brought, broke off these labors for a while; but before the final struggle with Antony began there was another short interval of literary activity, in which were composed the treatises *de Divinatione*, *de Fato*, *de Gloria*, *de Officiis*, and *Laelius* (*de Amicitia*).

Probably no one of his shorter writings is better known or more generally admired than the dialogue on Old Age. It was written at the age of sixty-two years and upwards, and was addressed to his friend Atticus, who was three years older.[1] It belongs to the division of Ethics, which had for its subject-matter the nature of the *summum bonum* and the conduct of life. Since the third century B.C. philosophy had lost the hope of substituting reason for violence in the management of affairs, and had aimed to find for the individual philosopher, in virtue or pleasure or elsewhere, a satisfaction to outweigh the inevitable ills of life. Every relation and incident of life was a subject of philosophical discussion, either from the pleasure it could afford, or the pain it was commonly supposed to cause.

In this treatise Cicero endeavors to show that old age, usually considered one of the ills of life, is to the wise man deprived of its terrors. He alludes (3) to a work on old age by Aristo of Ceos, but neither that work nor any one Greek work can be assigned with any degree of certainty as a prototype of the *Cato Maior*.[2]

[1] *Lael.* 5: *Ad senem senex de senectute.*

[2] Theophrastus and Demetrius of Phalerum (not named in the *Cato Maior*) are said to have written on old age, and in the *Cato Maior* Cicero mentions many other Greek writers, and quotes largely from Plato and Xenophon.

In form it is a dialogue, not that of the Socratic or Platonic type, where questions and answers alternate rapidly and in their interchange develop the thought of the writer, but rather of the Aristotelian type, wherein the dialogue soon becomes practically a monologue in the mouth of the chief speaker. The dialogue is put, apparently, in the last year of Cato's long life, and represents the old man [1] discoursing, calmly and cheerfully, with the younger Scipio (Aemilianus), brother-in-law of Cato's elder son, and his friend Laelius, the same who gives his name to the dialogue on friendship. Cicero himself was strongly attracted by some points of the old statesman's life and character, — his plebeian birth, his political struggles, his intellectual eminence, and his genuine love of rural occupations. The incidents of his career he has studied carefully and introduced into his discourse, with here and there a bit of his antique style, — *antiquior sermo*, *horridiora verba*.[2] But though the discourse is put in Cato's mouth, it is Cicero that speaks. Not merely is there the ripe Latin of the last century of the Republic, and the perfection of style of the greatest of Roman authors, but even the thoughts and sentiments are not such as belong to the tough and hard-headed Cato, whom Cicero employs as a lay-figure, to be dressed in the mental costume of his own day.

And, withal, he fashions the antique character into something of his own more modern likeness. The Cato of the dialogue is mild-mannered, reflective, at home in philosophical literature, and even not disinclined to music, after the example of Socrates. The real Cato was harsh in temper, narrow in prejudice, a shrewd hater of the elder Scipio, who was his rival,

[1] *Lael.* 4: *Catonem induxi senem disputantem*, *quia nulla videbatur aptior persona quae de illa aetate loqueretur*, *quam eius qui et diutissime senex fuisset*, *et in ipsa senectute praeter ceteros floruisset. . . . Itaque ipse mea legens sic adficior interdum*, *ut Catonem*, *non me*, *loqui existimem.*

[2] *Brut.* 68.

and of the whole party of refinement. He was a man "of iron strength of body and mind, of antique sternness and firmness of character, of simplicity and thrift, of patriotism that was close to narrow bigotry, of strength of will and patient temper, of unlimited capacity for toil and thirst for knowledge, with a copious knowledge of law and a vigorous original eloquence, — a man of bravery and generalship, of nervous activity in his province as husbandman and householder, as statesman and writer, with a high reputation for practical sagacity, commanding the unshaken regard of the people and senate in both public and private life, and all this to the very end of his great old age."[1]

So far as any connection with the substance of the book is concerned, we might dismiss Cato with these few words. It is necessary, however, briefly to describe his life and character, by way of explaining the allusions in the body of the work.

Marcus Porcius Cato — "the Elder" or "the Censor" — was born at Tusculum, of a plebeian family, B.C. 234. His youth was spent in "thrift, hardship, and tillage," varied, as he came of age, by pleading in the local courts. He served in South Italy against Hannibal[2] under Fabius Maximus (B.C. 212 and 209), again under Nero (B.C. 207) probably as military tribune, in Sicily and Africa as quaestor under Scipio (B.C. 204), as consul in Spain (B.C. 195), and as military tribune[3] or *legatus*[4] at Thermopylae, where he contributed largely to the victory over Antiochus. Though by birth a simple yeoman, as Marius was a hundred years later, he was never like him a popular partisan, but became himself a leading member of the aristocracy. Gifted with a shrewd common sense and an effective popular

[1] Lahmeyer. Cicero seems to have been aware of this inconsistency in the delineation (see 3). Perhaps he meant to recommend philosophy by making even Cato in his last years attracted by it.

[2] See Index of Persons — *Hannibal*.

[3] *Cat. Mai.* 32; Plut. *Cat.* 12.

[4] Liv. 36, 17, 1.

eloquence, the energetic, upright young rustic became known to the patrician Lucius Valerius Flaccus, who was his fast friend in Rome and afterwards his colleague as consul, legatus, and censor. With all his intellectual vigor he had the prejudices of the narrow and bigoted conservatism that marked the temper of the older Republic; and it was one of his acts to expel the Athenian envoys mentioned above from Rome, for fear of their corrupting the Roman youth. His son Marcus, who died B.C. 152, — a man of marked genius and merit, — married the daughter of Aemilius Paulus, and so was brother-in-law of the younger Scipio. Another son, born when Cato was eighty years old, was the grandfather of Cato *Uticensis*, the most able and honest of Caesar's enemies. After a long controversy with Scipio Nasica, Cato succeeded (B.C. 150) in bringing on the third and last war with Carthage. He died the following year, at the age of eighty-five.

Cato is best known by the severity with which he exercised the censorship. This gave him the name by which he is best known, *Censorius*, or the censor. This office was then at the height of its efficiency, and was an engine of almost despotic power. The men holding it had the unrestricted right to make out the list of Senators, that is, to determine who should govern Rome for the next five years; and, on the other hand, to punish, by expulsion from the Senate, by a private stigma of infamy, or even by the entire deprivation of political rights, any person whom they chose (see 42). A cause must be assigned; but even if this were omitted, there seems to have been no appeal from their judgment. Flaccus, the colleague of Cato, stood steadily by him in his action as censor, and, with his narrowness, obstinacy, prejudice, but entire honesty, Cato exercised the power of his office with relentless vigor. If it was especially his own private enemies that he punished, no doubt he sincerely believed them to be dangerous to the State, or they would not have been enemies of his.

These characteristics clung to him through life. Whatever was new he opposed; and in this way he resisted many salutary as well as many baneful innovations. He had no capacity for distinguishing between the steady movement of national life and those insidious influences from outside which eat out the national vigor. By his stubborn conservatism he gained the repute of being a typical Roman of the old school; while, in fact, the glory and strength of Rome lay in her ability to draw into herself, and not exclude or destroy, the life of the races she subdued.

The writings of Cato were: (1) *de Agricultura*, the first Latin treatise on agriculture, full of practical observations and directions, in great part still extant;[1] (2) *Origines*, the first historical work in Latin, curtly and briefly told, from the earliest legendary stories down to his own day, of which only fragments remain; (3) various writings on politics, antiquities, and war, with numerous orations, of which Cicero had read "more than a hundred and fifty."[2]

For information in regard to Scipio and Laelius see Index of Proper Names.

The Title and Date of the Essay on Old Age

Cicero mentions his book on old age six times. Twice he uses the first words of it as a title: *quod scribis te magis et magis delectari 'O Tite, si quid ego,' auges mihi scribendi alacritatem* (*ad Att.* 16, 3, 1); *'O Tite' tibi prodesse laetor* (*ad Att.* 16, 11, 3). Three times he calls it *Cato Maior*: *legendus mihi saepius est 'Cato Maior' ad te missus* (*ad Att.* 14, 21, 3); *sed ut in 'Catone Maiore' feci qui est scriptus ad te de senectute* (*Lael.* 4); *agricultura . . . de qua . . . in*

[1] For extracts from this see p. xvii.
[2] *Brut.* 65.

'*Catone Maiore*' *satis multa diximus* (*de Off.* 1, 151). Once he refers to it as *liber is . . . de senectute* (*de Div.* 2, 3). It seems evident, therefore, that the proper title is *Cato Maior*.

With regard to the date of the *Cato Maior* two things can be stated definitely. It was written before May 12, B.C. 44, for Cicero alludes to it in a letter to Atticus written on that day or the day before; it was written before the second book of the *de Divinatione*, for it is mentioned in that book, and not very long before, for it is spoken of as *nuper interiectus*. Book 2 of the *de Divinatione*, as is proved by internal evidence, was written after the death of Julius Caesar (March 15, B.C. 44). The *Cato Maior*, then, must have been written either shortly after or shortly before this date.

The arguments used in the discussion of this question must be based on passages in the second book of the *de Divinatione*, the letters of Cicero, and the *Cato Maior* itself. The most convincing evidence to be found in these sources favors the earlier date.

The important passage in the *Cato Maior* is in 1: *Et tamen te suspicor eisdem rebus quibus me ipsum interdum gravius commoveri, quarum consolatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda.* Every one recognizes here a distinct reference to political troubles of some kind existing at the time when the *Cato Maior* was being written. These may be either the conditions under Antony after Caesar's death or the despotism of Caesar in the months just preceding that event.

The fact that Cicero suggests writing a *consolatio* for these troubles indicates the earlier date, as we know from his *de Divinatione* (2, 6) that for this very state of things, a one-man power, he had before the death of Caesar found consolation in the political theories of certain Greek philosophers, while in the period after Caesar's death he was at first in a frame of mind rather suited to write a eulogy than a consolation, later too dejected to recognize the possibility of a formal

consolatio such as is here implied. His words to Atticus in letter of April 21,[1] "for us what consolation is there, wh though the tyrant is dead are not free?" strike the dominan note of his letters of this period.

This antecedent probability of the earlier date is strongl supported by several passages in the second book of the *d Divinatione*, wherein the writer indicates clearly that his literar activities had suffered a serious interruption through the deat of Caesar,[2] which had given him, as he then supposed, th opportunity and the duty of engaging once more in activ political life, but that before this interruption the series of hi philosophical works already included not only the first book c the *de Divinatione* but also the *Cato Maior*.[3]

[1] *Ad Att.* 14, 11, 1.

[2] *De Div.* 2, 7.

[3] *De Div.* 2, 4. For a full discussion of various grounds for thi conclusion, see Maurer, *Fleck. Jahrb.* CXXIX, p. 388 ff.; Moore, *Ca Maior*, intr. p. 43; K. Allen, *A. J. P.* XXVIII, 297.

M. PORCI CATONIS DE AGRI CULTURA SIVE DE RE RUSTICA LIBER

Praise of Agriculture

1. Est interdum praestare[1] mercaturis rem quaerere, nisi tam periculosum siet, et item fenorari, si tam honestum siet. Maiores nostri sic habuerunt et ita in legibus posiverunt, furem dupli[2] condemnari, feneratorem quadrupli. Quanto peiorem civem existimarint feneratorem quam furem, hinc licet existimare. Et virum bonum quom laudabant ita laudabant, bonum agricolam bonumque colonum. Amplissime laudari existimabatur, qui ita laudabatur. Mercatorem autem strenuum studiosumque rei quaerendae existimo, verum, ut supra dixi, periculosum et calamitosum.[3] At ex agricolis et viri fortissimi et milites strenuissimi gignuntur, maximeque pius[4] quaestus stabilissimusque consequitur minimeque invidiosus,[5] minimeque male cogitantes sunt qui in eo studio occupati sunt.

Culture of the Vine

32. Vineas arboresque mature face incipias putare. Vites propages[6] in sulcos: susum vorsum,[7] quod eius facere poteris,[8] vitis facito uti ducas. Arbores hoc modo putentur, rami uti divaricentur, quos relinques, et uti recte caedantur et ne nimium crebri relinquantur. Vites bene nodentur[9]: per omnes ramos diligenter caveto ne vitem praecipites et ne nimium

[1] **est interdum praestare** = *est locus et tempus et ratio ubi praestet* (Keil).

[2] gen. of indefinite value.

[3] 'exposed to disaster.'

[4] 'honorable.'

[5] 'liable to excite envy.'

[6] from *propagare.*

[7] **susum vorsum**: 'upward.'

[8] **quod eius facere poteris**: 'so far as you can.'

[9] *gemment.*

praestringas.[1] Arbores facito uti bene maritae[2] sint vitesque uti satis multae adserantur et, sicubi opus erit, de arbore deiciantur, uti in terram deprimantur,[3] et biennio post praecidito veteres.

33. Vineam sic facito uti curetur. Vitem bene nodatam[4] deligato recte, flexuosa uti ne sit, susum vorsum semper ducito, quod eius poteris. . . . Quam altissimam vineam facito, alligatoque recte, dum ne nimium constringas. Hoc modo eam curato. Capita[5] vitium per sementim[6] ablaqueato.[7] Vineam putatam circumfodito, arare incipito, ultro citroque sulcos perpetuos ducito.

[1] **praecipites . . . praestringas**: 'bend down . . . compress.'

[2] **arbores . . . maritae**: the vines were trained upon trees, which were then said to be 'wedded' to them.

[3] i.e. to take root and start new vines.

[4] See note 9.

[5] 'roots.'

[6] 'seed time.'

[7] 'dig around.'

ON OLD AGE

Cato Maior de Senectute

O Tite, si quid ego adiuero curamve levasso
quae nunc te coquit et versat in pectore fixa,
ecquid erit praemi?

Licet enim mihi versibus eisdem adfari te, Attice, quibus adfatur Flamininum

Ille vir haud magna cum re, sed plenus fidei.

Quamquam certo scio, non, ut Flamininum,

Sollicitari te, Tite, sic noctisque diesque;

novi enim moderationem animi tui et aequitatem, teque non cognomen solum Athenis deportasse, sed humanitatem et prudentiam intellego. Et tamen te suspicor eisdem rebus quibus me ipsum interdum gravius commoveri, quarum consolatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda. Nunc autem visum est mihi de senectute aliquid ad te conscribere. **2.** Hoc enim onere quod mihi commune tecum est, aut iam urgentis aut certe adventantis senectutis, et te et me ipsum levari volo; etsi te quidem id modice ac sapienter, sicut omnia, et ferre et laturum esse certo scio. Sed mihi, cum de senectute vellem aliquid scribere, tu occurrebas dignus eo munere quo uterque nostrum communiter uteretur. Mihi quidem ita iucunda huius libri confectio fuit, ut non modo omnis absterserit senectutis molestias, sed effecerit mollem etiam

et iucundam senectutem. Numquam igitur laudari satis digne philosophia poterit, cui qui pareat omne tempus aetatis sine molestia possit degere.

3. Sed de ceteris et diximus multa, et saepe dicemus: hunc librum ad te de senectute misimus. Omnem autem sermonem tribuimus non Tithono, ut Aristo Ceus, — parum enim esset auctoritatis in fabula, — sed M. Catoni seni, quo maiorem auctoritatem haberet oratio. Apud quem Laelium et Scipionem facimus admirantis quod is tam facile senectutem ferat, eisque eum respondentem. Qui si eruditius videbitur disputare quam consuevit ipse in suis libris, attribuito litteris Graecis, quarum constat eum perstudiosum fuisse in senectute. Sed quid opus est plura? Iam enim ipsius Catonis sermo explicabit nostram omnem de senectute sententiam.

II. **4**. SCIPIO. Saepe numero admirari soleo cum hoc C. Laelio cum ceterarum rerum tuam excellentem, M. Cato, perfectamque sapientiam, tum vel maxime quod numquam tibi senectutem gravem esse senserim, quae plerisque senibus sic odiosa est ut onus se Aetna gravius dicant sustinere.

CATO. Rem haud sane difficilem, Scipio et Laeli, admirari videmini. Quibus enim nihil est in ipsis opis ad bene beateque vivendum, eis omnis aetas gravis est; qui autem omnia bona a se ipsi petunt, eis nihil potest malum videri quod naturae necessitas adferat. Quo in genere est in primis senectus, quam ut adipiscantur omnes optant, eandem accusant adepti; tanta est stultitiae inconstantia atque perversitas. Obrepere aiunt eam citius quam putavissent. Primum, quis coëgit eos falsum putare? Qui enim citius adulescentiae senectus quam pueritiae

adulescentia obrepit? Deinde, qui minus gravis esset eis senectus, si octingentesimum annum agerent quam si octogesimum? Praeterita enim aetas quamvis longa cum effluxisset, nulla consolatio permulcere posset stultam senectutem. **5**. Quocirca si sapientiam meam admirari soletis, quae utinam digna esset opinione vestra nostroque cognomine, in hoc sumus sapientes quod naturam optimam ducem tamquam deum sequimur, eique paremus; a qua non veri simile est, cum ceterae partes aetatis bene descriptae sint, extremum actum tamquam ab inerti poëta esse neglectum. Sed tamen necesse fuit esse aliquid extremum, et tamquam in arborum bacis terraeque fructibus maturitate tempestiva quasi vietum et caducum, quod ferendum est molliter sapienti. Quid est enim aliud Gigantum modo bellare cum dis nisi naturae repugnare?

6. Laelius. Atqui, Cato, gratissimum nobis, ut etiam pro Scipione pollicear, feceris, si, quoniam speramus, volumus quidem certe senes fieri, multo ante a te didicerimus quibus facillime rationibus ingravescentem aetatem ferre possimus.

Cato. Faciam vero, Laeli, praesertim si utrique vestrum, ut dicis, gratum futurum est.

Laelius. Volumus sane, nisi molestum est, Cato, tamquam longam aliquam viam confeceris quam nobis quoque ingrediendum sit, istuc quo pervenisti, videre quale sit.

III. **7**. Cato. Faciam ut potero, Laeli. Saepe enim interfui querellis aequalium meorum — pares autem, vetere proverbio, cum paribus facillime congregantur — quae C. Salinator, quae Sp. Albinus, homines consulares nostri fere aequales deplorare solebant, tum quod voluptatibus carerent, sine quibus vitam nullam putarent, tum

quod spernerentur ab eis a quibus essent coli soliti. Qui mihi non id videbantur accusare quod esset accusandum. Nam si id culpa senectutis accideret, eadem mihi usu venirent reliquisque omnibus maioribus natu, quorum ego multorum cognovi senectutem sine querella, qui se et libidinum vinculis laxatos esse non moleste ferrent, nec a suis despicerentur. Sed omnium istius modi querellarum in moribus est culpa, non in aetate. Moderati enim et nec difficiles nec inhumani senes tolerabilem senectutem agunt; importunitas autem et inhumanitas omni aetati molesta est.

8. LAELIUS. Est ut dicis, Cato; sed fortasse dixerit quispiam tibi propter opes et copias et dignitatem tuam tolerabiliorem senectutem videri, id autem non posse multis contingere.

CATO. Est istud quidem, Laeli, aliquid, sed nequaquam in isto sunt omnia. Ut Themistocles fertur Seriphio cuidam in iurgio respondisse, cum ille dixisset non eum suâ sed patriae gloria splendorem adsecutum: 'Nec (hercule),' inquit 'si ego Seriphius essem, nec tu, si Atheniensis, clarus umquam fuisses.' Quod eodem modo de senectute dici potest. Nec enim in summa inopia levis esse senectus potest ne sapienti quidem, nec insipienti etiam in summa copia non gravis. **9**. Aptissima omnino sunt, Scipio et Laeli, arma senectutis artes exercitationesque virtutum, quae in omni aetate cultae, cum diu multumque vixeris, mirificos ecferunt fructus, non solum quia numquam deserunt, ne extremo quidem tempore aetatis, — quamquam id quidem maximum est, — verum etiam quia conscientia bene actae vitae multorumque bene factorum recordatio iucundissima est.

IV. **10.** Ego Quintum Maximum, eum qui Tarentum recepit, senem adulescens ita dilexi ut aequalem. Erat enim in illo viro comitate condita gravitas, nec senectus mores mutaverat; quamquam eum colere coepi non admodum grandem natu, sed tamen iam aetate provectum. Anno enim post consul primum fuerat quam ego natus sum, cumque eo quartum consule adulescentulus miles ad Capuam profectus sum, quintoque anno post ad Tarentum. Quaestor deinde quadriennio post factus sum, quem magistratum gessi consulibus Tuditano et Cethego, cum quidem ille admodum senex suasor legis Cinciae de donis et muneribus fuit. Hic et bella gerebat ut adulescens, cum plane grandis esset, et Hannibalem iuveniliter exsultantem patientia sua molliebat; de quo praeclare familiaris noster Ennius:

> Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem,
> Noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem.
> Ergo postque magisque viri nunc gloria claret.

11. Tarentum vero qua vigilantia, quo consilio recepit! cum quidem me audiente Salinatori, qui amisso oppido fugerat in arcem, glorianti atque ita dicenti, 'Mea opera, Quinte Fabi, Tarentum recepisti,' 'Certe,' inquit ridens, 'nam nisi tu amisisses, numquam recepissem.' Nec vero in armis praestantior quam in toga, qui consul iterum, Sp. Carvilio collega quiescente, C. Flaminio tribuno plebis quoad potuit restitit agrum Picentem et Gallicum viritim contra senatus auctoritatem dividenti; augurque cum esset, dicere ausus est optimis auspiciis ea geri quae pro rei publicae salute gererentur, quae contra rem publicam ferrentur contra auspicia ferri. **12.** Multa in eo viro praeclara cognovi, sed nihil admirabilius quam quo modo ille

mortem fili tulit, clari viri et consularis. Est in manibus laudatio, quam cum legimus, quem philosophum non contemnimus? Nec vero ille in luce modo atque in oculis civium magnus, sed intus domique praestantior. Qui sermo! quae praecepta! quanta notitia antiquitatis, scientia iuris augurii! Multae etiam, ut in homine Romano, litterae. Omnia memoria tenebat, non domestica solum sed etiam externa bella. Cuius sermone ita tum cupide fruebar quasi iam divinarem, id quod evenit, illo exstincto fore unde discerem neminem.

V. **13**. Quorsus igitur haec tam multa de Maximo? Quia profecto videtis nefas esse dictu miseram fuisse talem senectutem. Nec tamen omnes possunt esse Scipiones aut Maximi, ut urbium expugnationes, ut pedestris navalisve pugnas, ut bella a se gesta, ut triumphos recordentur. Est etiam quiete et pure atque eleganter actae aetatis placida ac lenis senectus, qualem accepimus Platonis, qui uno et octogesimo anno scribens est mortuus; qualem Isocratis, qui eum librum qui *Panathenaicus* inscribitur quarto et nonagesimo anno scripsisse se dicit, vixitque quinquennium postea; cuius magister Leontinus Gorgias centum et septem complevit annos, neque umquam in suo studio atque opere cessavit. Qui, cum ex eo quaereretur cur tam diu vellet esse in vita, 'Nihil habeo' inquit 'quod accusem senectutem.' **14**. Praeclarum responsum, et docto homine dignum. Sua enim vitia insipientes et suam culpam in senectutem conferunt; quod non faciebat is cuius modo mentionem feci Ennius:

> Sicut fortis equus, spatio qui saepe supremo
> Vicit Olympia, nunc senio confectus quiescit.

Equi fortis et victoris senectuti comparat suam. Quem quidem probe meminisse potestis. Anno enim undevicesimo post eius mortem hi consules T. Flamininus et M'. Acilius facti sunt, ille autem Caepione et Philippo iterum consulibus mortuus est, cum ego quinque et sexaginta annos natus legem Voconiam magna voce et bonis lateribus suasissem. Annos septuaginta natus, — tot enim vixit Ennius, — ita ferebat duo quae maxima putantur onera, paupertatem et senectutem, ut eis paene delectari videretur.

15. Etenim, cum complector animo, quattuor reperio causas cur senectus misera videatur: unam, quod avocet a rebus gerendis; alteram, quod corpus faciat infirmius; tertiam, quod privet omnibus fere voluptatibus; quartam, quod haud procul absit a morte. Earum, si placet, causarum quanta quamque sit iusta una quaeque videamus.

VI. 'A rebus gerendis senectus abstrahit.' Quibus? An eis quae iuventute geruntur et viribus? Nullaene igitur res sunt seniles quae vel infirmis corporibus animo tamen administrentur? Nihil ergo agebat Q. Maximus? Nihil L. Paulus, pater tuus, socer optimi viri, fili mei? Ceteri senes, Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii, cum rem publicam consilio et auctoritate defendebant, nihil agebant? **16.** Ad Appi Claudi senectutem accedebat etiam ut caecus esset; tamen is, cum sententia senatus inclinaret ad pacem cum Pyrrho foedusque faciendum, non dubitavit dicere illa quae versibus persecutus est Ennius:

> Quo vobis mentes, rectae quae stare solebant
> Antehac, dementes sese flexere viai?

ceteraque gravissime; notum enim vobis carmen est; et tamen ipsius Appi exstat oratio. Atque haec ille

egit septimo decimo anno post alterum consulatum, cum inter duos consulatus anni decem interfuissent, censorque ante superiorem consulatum fuisset; ex quo intellegitur Pyrrhi bello grandem sane fuisse; et tamen sic a patribus accepimus. **17**. Nihil igitur adferunt qui in re gerenda versari senectutem negant; similesque sunt ut si qui gubernatorem in navigando nihil agere dicant, cum alii malos scandant, alii per foros cursent, alii sentinam exhauriant, ille clavum tenens quietus sedeat in puppi. Non facit ea quae iuvenes, at vero multo maiora et meliora facit. Non viribus aut velocitate aut celeritate corporum res magnae geruntur, sed consilio, auctoritate, sententia; quibus non modo non orbari, sed etiam augeri senectus solet. **18**. Nisi forte ego vobis, qui et miles et tribunus et legatus et consul versatus sum in vario genere bellorum, cessare nunc videor cum bella non gero. At senatui quae sint gerenda praescribo, et quo modo; Karthagini male iam diu cogitanti bellum multo ante denuntio; de qua vereri non ante desinam quam illam excisam esse cognovero. **19**. Quam palmam utinam Di inmortales, Scipio, tibi reservent, ut avi reliquias persequare! cuius a morte sextus hic et tricesimus annus est; sed memoriam illius viri omnes excipient anni consequentes. Anno ante me censorem mortuus est, novem annis post meum consulatum, cum consul iterum me consule creatus esset. Num igitur, si ad centesimum annum vixisset, senectutis eum suae paeniteret? Nec enim excursione nec saltu nec eminus hastis aut comminus gladiis uteretur, sed consilio, ratione, sententia. Quae nisi essent in senibus, non summum consilium maiores nostri appellassent

senatum. **20**. Apud Lacedaemonios quidem ei qui amplissimum magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam nominantur senes. Quod si legere aut audire voletis externa, maximas res publicas ab adulescentibus labefactatas, a senibus sustentatas et restitutas reperietis.

Cedo, quí vestram rem públicam tantam ámisistis tám cito?

Sic enim percontantur, in Naevi poëtae Ludo. Respondentur et alia et hoc in primis:

Provéniebant orátores noví, stulti adulescéntuli.

Temeritas est videlicet florentis aetatis, prudentia senescentis.

VII. **21**. 'At memoria minuitur.' Credo, nisi eam exerceas, aut etiam si sis natura tardior. Themistocles omnium civium perceperat nomina. Num igitur censetis eum, cum aetate processisset, qui Aristides esset Lysimachum salutare solitum? Equidem non modo eos novi qui sunt, sed eorum patres etiam et avos. Nec sepulcra legens vereor (quod aiunt) ne memoriam perdam; his enim ipsis legendis in memoriam redeo mortuorum. Nec vero quemquam senem audivi oblitum quo loco thesaurum obruisset. Omnia quae curant meminerunt: vadimonia constituta, quis sibi, cui ipsi debeant. **22**. Quid iuris consulti, quid pontifices, quid augures, quid philosophi senes? quam multa meminerunt! Manent ingenia senibus, modo permaneat studium et industria, neque ea solum in claris et honoratis viris, sed in vita etiam privata et quieta. Sophocles ad summam senectutem tragoedias fecit; quod propter studium cum rem neglegere familiarem videretur, a filiis in iudicium vocatus est ut, quem ad modum nostro more male rem

gerentibus patribus bonis interdici solet, sic illum quasi desipientem a re familiari removerent iudices. Tum senex dicitur eam fabulam quam in manibus habebat et proxime scripserat, *Oedipum Coloneum*, recitasse iudicibus, quaesisseque num illud carmen desipientis videretur. Quo recitato sententiis iudicum est liberatus. **23**. Num igitur hunc, num Homerum, num Hesiodum, Simonidem, Stesichorum, num quos ante dixi, Isocraten, Gorgian, num philosophorum principes, Pythagoram, Democritum, num Platonem, num Xenocraten, num postea Zenonem, Cleanthem, aut eum quem vos etiam vidistis Romae, Diogenem Stoicum, coëgit in suis studiis obmutescere senectus? an in omnibus his studiorum agitatio vitae aequalis fuit?

24. Age, ut ista divina studia omittamus, possum nominare ex agro Sabino rusticos Romanos, vicinos et familiaris meos, quibus absentibus numquam fere ulla in agro maiora opera fiunt, non serendis, non percipiendis, non condendis fructibus. Quamquam in his minus hoc mirum est; nemo enim est tam senex qui se annum non putet posse vivere; sed idem in eis elaborant quae sciunt nihil ad se omnino pertinere:

> Serit arbores quae alteri saeclo prosint,

ut ait Statius noster in *Synephebis*. **25**. Nec vero dubitat agricola, quamvis sit senex, quaerenti cui serat, respondere: 'Dis inmortalibus, qui me non accipere modo haec a maioribus voluerunt, sed etiam posteris prodere.'

VIII. Et melius Caecilius de sene alteri saeculo prospiciente quam illud idem:

> Edepól senectus, sí nil quicquam aliúd viti
> Adpórtes tecum, cum ádvenis, unum íd sat est,
> Quod diú vivendo múlta quae non vólt, videt.

Et multa fortasse quae volt! atque in ea quae non volt saepe etiam adulescentia incurrit. Illud vero idem Caecilius vitiosius:

> Tum equidem ín senecta hoc députo misérrimum,
> Sentíre ea aetate eúmpse esse odiosum álteri.

26. Iucundum potius quam odiosum! Ut enim adulescentibus bona indole praeditis sapientes senes delectantur, leviorque fit senectus eorum qui a iuventute coluntur et diliguntur, sic adulescentes senum praeceptis gaudent, quibus ad virtutum studia ducuntur. Nec minus intellego me vobis quam mihi vos esse iucundos. Sed videtis ut senectus non modo languida atque iners non sit, verum etiam sit operosa et semper agens aliquid et moliens, tale scilicet quale cuiusque studium in superiore vita fuit. Quid, qui etiam addiscunt aliquid? ut et Solonem versibus gloriantem videmus, qui se cotidie aliquid addiscentem dicit senem fieri, et ego feci, qui litteras Graecas senex didici, quas quidem sic avide arripui, quasi diuturnam sitim explere cupiens, ut ea ipsa mihi nota essent, quibus me nunc exemplis uti videtis. Quod cum fecisse Socratem in fidibus audirem, vellem equidem etiam illud, — discebant enim fidibus antiqui, — sed in litteris certe elaboravi.

IX. **27**. Nec nunc quidem viris desidero adulescentis, — is enim erat locus alter de vitiis senectutis, — non plus quam adulescens tauri aut elephanti desiderabam. Quod est, eo decet uti, et quicquid agas agere pro viribus. Quae enim vox potest esse contemptior quam Milonis Crotoniatae? qui, cum iam senex esset, athletasque se exercentis in curriculo videret, aspexisse

lacertos suos dicitur, inlacrimansque dixisse: 'At hi quidem mortui iam sunt.' Non vero tam isti quam tu ipse, nugator! neque enim ex te umquam es nobilitatus, sed ex lateribus et lacertis tuis. Nihil Sex. Aelius tale, nihil multis annis ante Ti. Coruncanius, nihil modo P. Crassus, a quibus iura civibus praescribebantur, quorum usque ad extremum spiritum est provecta prudentia.

28. Orator metuo ne languescat senectute, est enim munus eius non ingeni solum sed laterum etiam et virium. Omnino canorum illud in voce splendescit etiam nescio quo pacto in senectute, quod equidem adhuc non amisi, et videtis annos. Sed tamen est decorus senis sermo quietus et remissus, facitque persaepe ipsa sibi audientiam diserti senis composita et mitis oratio. Quam si ipse exsequi nequeas, possis tamen Scipioni praecipere et Laelio. Quid enim est iucundius senectute stipata studiis iuventutis? **29**. An ne eas quidem viris senectuti relinquimus, ut adulescentis doceat, instituat, ad omne offici munus instruat? Quo quidem opere quid potest esse praeclarius? Mihi vero et Cn. et P. Scipiones, et avi tui duo, L. Aemilius et P. Africanus, comitatu nobilium iuvenum fortunati videbantur, nec ulli bonarum artium magistri non beati putandi, quamvis consenuerint vires atque defecerint. Etsi ipsa ista defectio virium adulescentiae vitiis efficitur saepius quam senectutis; libidinosa enim et intemperans adulescentia effetum corpus tradit senectuti. **30**. Cyrus quidem apud Xenophontem eo sermone quem moriens habuit, cum admodum senex esset, negat se umquam sensisse senectutem suam imbecilliorem factam quam adulescentia fuisset. Ego L. Metellum memini

puer, qui cum quadriennio post alterum consulatum pontifex maximus factus esset, viginti et duos annos ei sacerdotio praefuit, ita bonis esse viribus extremo tempore aetatis, ut adulescentiam non requireret. Nihil necesse est mihi de me ipso dicere, quamquam est id quidem senile aetatique nostrae conceditur.

X. **31**. Videtisne ut apud Homerum saepissime Nestor de virtutibus suis praedicet? Iam enim tertiam aetatem hominum videbat, nec erat ei verendum ne vera praedicans de se nimis videretur aut insolens aut loquax. Etenim, ut ait Homerus, 'ex eius lingua melle dulcior fluebat oratio,' quam ad suavitatem nullis egebat corporis viribus. Et tamen dux ille Graeciae nusquam optat ut Aiacis similis habeat decem, sed ut Nestoris, quod si sibi acciderit, non dubitat quin brevi sit Troia peritura. **32**. Sed redeo ad me. Quartum ago annum et octogesimum; vellem equidem idem possem gloriari quod Cyrus, sed tamen hoc queo dicere, non me quidem eis esse viribus quibus aut miles bello Punico aut quaestor eodem bello aut consul in Hispania fuerim, aut quadriennio post, cum tribunus militaris depugnavi apud Thermopylas M'. Glabrione consule, sed tamen, ut vos videtis, non plane me enervavit, non adflixit senectus; non curia viris meas desiderat, non rostra, non amici, non clientes, non hospites. Nec enim umquam sum adsensus veteri illi laudatoque proverbio, quod monet mature fieri senem, si diu velis senex esse. Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallem, quam esse senem ante quam essem. Itaque nemo adhuc convenire me voluit cui fuerim occupatus.

33. At minus habeo virium quam vestrum utervis. Ne vos quidem T. Ponti centurionis viris habetis; num

idcirco est ille praestantior? Moderatio modo virium adsit, et tantum quantum potest quisque nitatur; ne ille non magno desiderio tenebitur virium. Olympiae per stadium ingressus esse Milo dicitur, cum umeris sustineret bovem. Utrum igitur has corporis an Pythagorae tibi malis viris ingeni dari? Denique isto bono utare, dum adsit; cum absit, ne requiras: nisi forte adulescentes pueritiam, paulum aetate progressi adulescentiam debent requirere. Cursus est certus aetatis, et una via naturae eaque simplex; suaque cuique parti aetatis tempestivitas est data, ut et infirmitas puerorum, et ferocitas iuvenum, et gravitas iam constantis aetatis, et senectutis maturitas naturale quiddam habeat quod suo tempore percipi debeat. **34**. Audire te arbitror, Scipio, hospes tuus avitus Masinissa quae faciat hodie nonaginta natus annos; cum ingressus iter pedibus sit, in equum omnino non ascendere, cum autem equo, ex equo non descendere, nullo imbri, nullo frigore adduci ut capite operto sit, summam esse in eo corporis siccitatem, itaque omnia exsequi regis officia et munera. Potest igitur exercitatio et temperantia etiam in senectute conservare aliquid pristini roboris.

XI. Ne sint in senectute vires. Ne postulantur quidem vires a senectute. Ergo, et legibus et institutis, vacat aetas nostra muneribus eis quae non possunt sine viribus sustineri. Itaque non modo quod non possumus sed ne quantum possumus quidem cogimur. **35**. 'At multi ita sunt imbecilli senes ut nullum offici aut omnino vitae munus exsequi possint.' At id quidem non proprium senectutis vitium est, sed commune valetudinis. Quam fuit imbecillus P. Africani filius, is qui te

adoptavit! quam tenui aut nulla potius valetudine! Quod ni ita fuisset, alterum illud exstitisset lumen civitatis; ad paternam enim magnitudinem animi doctrina uberior accesserat. Quid mirum igitur in senibus, si infirmi sunt aliquando, cum id ne adulescentes quidem effugere possint? Resistendum, Laeli et Scipio, senectuti est, eiusque vitia diligentia compensanda sunt; pugnandum tamquam contra morbum sic contra senectutem; **36**. habenda ratio valetudinis; utendum exercitationibus modicis; tantum cibi et potionis adhibendum ut reficiantur vires, non opprimantur. Nec vero corpori solum subveniendum est, sed menti atque animo multo magis; nam haec quoque, nisi tamquam lumini oleum instilles, exstinguuntur senectute. Et corpora quidem exercitationum defatigatione ingravescunt; animi autem exercendo levantur. Nam quos ait Caecilius 'comicos stultos senes,' hos significat credulos, obliviosos, dissolutos; quae vitia sunt non senectutis, sed inertis, ignavae, somniculosae senectutis. Ut petulantia, ut libido magis est adulescentium quam senum, nec tamen omnium adulescentium, sed non proborum, sic ista senilis stultitia, quae deliratio appellari solet, senum levium est, non omnium. **37**. Quattuor robustos filios, quinque filias, tantam domum, tantas clientelas Appius regebat et caecus et senex. Intentum enim animum tamquam arcum habebat, nec languescens succumbebat senectuti. Tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos; metuebant servi, verebantur liberi, carum omnes habebant; vigebat in illa domo mos patrius et disciplina.

38. Ita enim senectus honesta est, si se ipsa defendit, si ius suum retinet, si nemini mancipata est, si usque ad

ultimum spiritum dominatur in suos. Ut enim adulescentem in quo est senile aliquid, sic senem in quo est aliquid adulescentis probo; quod qui sequitur, corpore senex esse poterit, animo numquam erit.

Septimus mihi liber *Originum* est in manibus: omnia antiquitatis monumenta colligo; causarum inlustrium, quascumque defendi, nunc cum maxime conficio orationes; ius augurium, pontificium, civile tracto; multum etiam Graecis litteris utor, Pythagoreorumque more exercendae memoriae gratia, quid quoque die dixerim, audierim, egerim, commemoro vesperi. Hae sunt exercitationes ingeni, haec curricula mentis; in his desudans atque elaborans corporis viris non magno opere desidero. Adsum amicis, venio in senatum frequens, ultroque adfero res multum et diu cogitatas, easque tueor animi non corporis viribus. Quas si exsequi nequirem, tamen me lectulus meus oblectaret ea ipsa cogitantem quae iam agere non possem; sed ut possim facit acta vita. Semper enim in his studiis laboribusque viventi non intellegitur quando obrepat senectus. Ita sensim sine sensu aetas senescit; nec subito frangitur, sed diuturnitate exstinguitur.

XII. **39**. Sequitur tertia vituperatio senectutis, quod eam carere dicunt voluptatibus. O praeclarum munus aetatis, si quidem id aufert a nobis quod est in adulescentia vitiosissimum! Accipite enim, optimi adulescentes, veterem orationem Archytae Tarentini, magni in primis et praeclari viri, quae mihi tradita est cum essem adulescens Tarenti cum Q. Maximo: 'Nullam capitaliorem pestem quam voluptatem corporis hominibus' dicebat 'a natura datam, cuius voluptatis avidae

libidines temere et ecfrenate ad potiendum incitarentur. **40**. Hinc patriae proditiones, hinc rerum publicarum eversiones, hinc cum hostibus clandestina conloquia nasci; nullum denique scelus, nullum malum facinus esse, ad quod suscipiendum non libido voluptatis impelleret; stupra vero et adulteria et omne tale flagitium nullis excitari aliis inlecebris nisi voluptatis. Cumque homini sive natura sive quis deus nihil mente praestabilius dedisset, huic divino muneri ac dono nihil tam esse inimicum quam voluptatem. **41**. Nec enim libidine dominante temperantiae locum esse, neque omnino in voluptatis regno virtutem posse consistere. Quod quo magis intellegi posset, fingere animo iubebat tanta incitatum aliquem voluptate corporis quanta percipi posset maxima; nemini censebat fore dubium quin tam diu, dum ita gauderet, nihil agitare mente, nihil ratione, nihil cogitatione consequi posset. Quocirca nihil esse tam detestabile tamque pestiferum quam voluptatem; si quidem ea, cum maior esset atque longior, omne animi lumen exstingueret.' Haec cum C. Pontio Samnite, patre eius a quo Caudino proelio Sp. Postumius T. Veturius consules superati sunt, locutum Archytam Nearchus Tarentinus, hospes noster, qui in amicitia populi Romani permanserat, se a maioribus natu accepisse dicebat, cum quidem ei sermoni interfuisset Plato Atheniensis, quem Tarentum venisse L. Camillo Ap. Claudio consulibus reperio.

42. Quorsus hoc? Ut intellegeretis, si voluptatem aspernari ratione et sapientia non possemus, magnam esse habendam senectuti gratiam, quae efficeret ut id non liberet quod non oporteret. Impedit enim consilium voluptas; rationi inimica est; mentis (ut ita dicam)

praestringit oculos, nec habet ullum cum virtute commercium. Invitus feci ut fortissimi viri T. Flaminini fratrem L. Flamininum e senatu eicerem septem annis post quam consul fuisset, sed notandam putavi libidinem. Ille enim, cum esset consul, in Gallia exoratus in convivio a scorto est ut securi feriret aliquem eorum qui in vinculis essent damnati rei capitalis. Hic Tito fratre suo censore, qui proximus ante me fuerat, elapsus est; mihi vero et Flacco neutiquam probari potuit tam flagitiosa et tam perdita libido, quae cum probro privato coniungeret imperi dedecus.

XIII. **43**. Saepe audivi ex maioribus natu, qui se porro pueros a senibus audisse dicebant, mirari solitum C. Fabricium, quod, cum apud regem Pyrrhum legatus esset, audisset a Thessalo Cinea esse quendam Athenis qui se sapientem profiteretur, eumque dicere omnia quae faceremus ad voluptatem esse referenda. Quod ex eo audientis M'. Curium et Ti. Coruncanium optare solitos ut id Samnitibus ipsique Pyrrho persuaderetur, quo facilius vinci possent, cum se voluptatibus dedissent. Vixerat M'. Curius cum P. Decio, qui quinquennio ante eum consulem se pro re publica quarto consulatu devoverat. Norat eundem Fabricius, norat Coruncanius, qui cum ex sua vita, tum ex eius quem dico Deci facto iudicabant esse profecto aliquid natura pulchrum atque praeclarum, quod sua sponte peteretur, quodque spreta et contempta voluptate optimus quisque sequeretur.

44. Quorsus igitur tam multa de voluptate? Quia non modo vituperatio nulla, sed etiam summa laus senectutis est, quod ea voluptates nullas magno opere desiderat. Caret epulis exstructisque mensis et frequentibus poculis.

Caret ergo etiam vinulentia et cruditate et insomniis. Sed si aliquid dandum est voluptati, quoniam eius blanditiis non facile obsistimus, — divine enim Plato escam malorum appellat voluptatem, quod ea videlicet homines capiantur ut pisces, — quamquam immoderatis epulis caret senectus, modicis tamen conviviis delectari potest. C. Duellium, Marci filium, qui Poenos classe primus devicerat, redeuntem a cena senem saepe videbam puer; delectabatur cereo funali et tibicine, quae sibi nullo exemplo privatus sumpserat; tantum licentiae dabat gloria. **45**. Sed quid ego alios? Ad me ipsum iam revertar. Primum habui semper sodalis. Sodalitates autem me quaestore constitutae sunt, sacris Idaeis Magnae Matris acceptis. Epulabar igitur cum sodalibus omnino modice, sed erat quidam fervor aetatis, qua progrediente omnia fiunt in dies mitiora. Neque enim ipsorum conviviorum delectationem voluptatibus corporis magis quam coetu amicorum et sermonibus metiebar. Bene enim maiores accubitionem epularem amicorum, quia vitae coniunctionem haberet, convivium nominaverunt; melius quam Graeci qui hoc idem tum compotationem tum concenationem vocant; ut quod in eo genere minimum est id maxime probare videantur.

XIV. **46**. Ego vero propter sermonis delectationem tempestivis quoque conviviis delector, nec cum aequalibus solum, qui pauci admodum restant, sed cum vestra etiam aetate atque vobiscum, habeoque senectuti magnam gratiam, quae mihi sermonis aviditatem auxit, potionis et cibi sustulit. Quod si quem etiam ista delectant, ne omnino bellum indixisse videar voluptati, cuius est fortasse quidam naturalis modus, non intellego ne in

istis quidem ipsis voluptatibus carere sensu senectutem. Me vero et magisteria delectant a maioribus instituta; et is sermo qui more maiorum a summo adhibetur in poculo; et pocula, sicut in *Symposio* Xenophontis est, minuta atque rorantia, et refrigeratio aestate, et vicissim aut sol aut ignis hibernus. Quae quidem etiam in Sabinis persequi soleo, conviviumque vicinorum cotidie compleo, quod ad multam noctem quam maxime possumus vario sermone producimus.

47. 'At non est voluptatum tanta quasi titillatio in senibus.' Credo, sed ne desideratur quidem. Nihil autem est molestum quod non desideres. Bene Sophocles, cum ex eo quidam iam adfecto aetate quaereret, utereturne rebus veneriis: 'Di meliora!' inquit: 'libenter vero istinc sicut a domino agresti ac furioso profugi.' Cupidis enim rerum talium odiosum fortasse et molestum est carere; satiatis vero et expletis iucundius est carere quam frui. Quamquam non caret is qui non desiderat; ergo hoc non desiderare dico esse iucundius. **48**. Quod si istis ipsis voluptatibus bona aetas fruitur libentius, primum parvulis fruitur rebus, ut diximus; deinde eis quibus senectus, etiam si non abunde potitur, non omnino caret. Ut Turpione Ambivio magis delectatur qui in prima cavea spectat, delectatur tamen etiam qui in ultima, sic adulescentia voluptates propter intuens magis fortasse laetatur, sed delectatur etiam senectus procul eas spectans, tantum quantum sat est.

49. At illa quanti sunt, animum, tamquam emeritis stipendiis libidinis, ambitionis, contentionum, inimicitiarum, cupiditatum omnium, secum esse secumque (ut dicitur) vivere! Si vero habet aliquod tamquam

pabulum studi atque doctrinae, nihil est otiosa senectute iucundius. Videbamus in studio dimetiendi paene caeli atque terrae C. Galum, familiarem patris tui, Scipio. Quotiens illum lux noctu aliquid describere ingressum, quotiens nox oppressit, cum mane coepisset! Quam delectabat eum defectiones solis et lunae multo ante nobis praedicere! **50**. Quid in levioribus studiis, sed tamen acutis? Quam gaudebat *Bello* suo *Punico* Naevius! quam *Truculento* Plautus! quam *Pseudolo!* Vidi etiam senem Livium, qui cum sex annis ante quam ego natus sum fabulam docuisset Centone Tuditanoque consulibus, usque ad adulescentiam meam processit aetate. Quid de P. Licini Crassi et pontificii et civilis iuris studio loquar? aut de huius P. Scipionis, qui his paucis diebus pontifex maximus factus est? Atqui eos omnis quos commemoravi his studiis flagrantis senes vidimus. M. vero Cethegum, quem recte *Suadae medullam* dixit Ennius, quanto studio exerceri in dicendo videbamus etiam senem! Quae sunt igitur epularum aut ludorum aut scortorum voluptates cum his voluptatibus comparandae? Atque haec quidem studia doctrinae; quae quidem prudentibus et bene institutis pariter cum aetate crescunt, ut honestum illud Solonis sit, quod ait versiculo quodam, ut ante dixi, senescere se multa in dies addiscentem; qua voluptate animi nulla certe potest esse maior.

XV. **51**. Venio nunc ad voluptates agricolarum, quibus ego incredibiliter delector; quae nec ulla impediuntur senectute, et mihi ad sapientis vitam proxime videntur accedere. Habent enim rationem cum terra, quae numquam recusat imperium, nec cuiquam sine usura reddit quod accepit, sed alias minore, plerumque maiore cum

faenore. Quamquam me quidem non fructus modo, sed etiam ipsius terrae vis ac natura delectat. Quae cum gremio mollito ac subacto sparsum semen excepit, primum id occaecatum cohibet (ex quo *occatio* quae hoc efficit nominata est); deinde tepefactum vapore et compressu suo diffundit et elicit herbescentem ex eo viriditatem, quae nixa fibris stirpium sensim adulescit, culmoque erecta geniculato vaginis iam quasi pubescens includitur; e quibus cum emersit, fundit frugem spici ordine structam et contra avium minorum morsus munitur vallo aristarum. **52**. Quid ego vitium ortus, satus, incrementa commemorem? Satiari delectatione non possum, ut meae senectutis requietem oblectamentumque noscatis. Omitto enim vim ipsam omnium quae generantur e terra, quae ex fici tantulo grano aut ex acini vinaceo aut ex ceterarum frugum aut stirpium minutissimis seminibus tantos truncos ramosque procreet. Malleoli, plantae, sarmenta, viviradices, propagines, nonne efficiunt ut quemvis cum admiratione delectent? Vitis quidem, quae natura caduca est, et nisi fulta est fertur ad terram, eadem ut se erigat claviculis suis quasi manibus quicquid est nacta complectitur; quam, serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico, ferro amputans coercet ars agricolarum, ne silvescat sarmentis et in omnis partis nimia fundatur. **53**. Itaque ineunte vere in eis quae relicta sunt exsistit tamquam ad articulos sarmentorum ea quae gemma dicitur, a qua oriens uva se ostendit; quae et suco terrae et calore solis augescens primo est peracerba gustatu, deinde maturata dulcescit, vestitaque pampinis nec modico tepore caret, et nimios solis defendit ardores. Qua quid potest esse cum fructu laetius,

tum aspectu pulchrius? Cuius quidem non utilitas me solum, ut ante dixi, sed etiam cultura et natura ipsa delectat; adminiculorum ordines, capitum iugatio, religatio et propagatio vitium, sarmentorum ea quam dixi aliorum amputatio, aliorum inmissio. Quid ego inrigationes, quid fossiones agri repastinationesque proferam, quibus fit multo terra fecundior? **54**. Quid de utilitate loquar stercorandi? Dixi in eo libro quem de rebus rusticis scripsi, de qua doctus Hesiodus ne verbum quidem fecit, cum de cultura agri scriberet. At Homerus, qui multis (ut mihi videtur) ante saeculis fuit, Laertam lenientem desiderium, quod capiebat e filio, colentem agrum et eum stercorantem facit. Nec vero segetibus solum et pratis et vineis et arbustis res rusticae laetae sunt, sed hortis etiam et pomariis, tum pecudum pastu, apium examinibus, florum omnium varietate. Nec consitiones modo delectant, sed etiam insitiones, quibus nihil invenit agricultura sollertius.

XVI. **55**. Possum persequi permulta oblectamenta rerum rusticarum, sed ea ipsa quae dixi sentio fuisse longiora. Ignoscetis autem; nam et studio rerum rusticarum provectus sum, et senectus est natura loquacior, ne ab omnibus eam vitiis videar vindicare. Ergo in hac vita M'. Curius, cum de Samnitibus, de Sabinis, de Pyrrho triumphavisset, consumpsit extremum tempus aetatis. Cuius quidem ego villam contemplans, — abest enim non longe a me, — admirari satis non possum vel hominis ipsius continentiam vel temporum disciplinam. Curio ad focum sedenti magnum auri pondus Samnites cum attulissent, repudiati sunt; non enim aurum habere praeclarum sibi videri dixit, sed eis qui haberent aurum

imperare. Poteratne tantus animus efficere non iucundam senectutem?

56. Sed venio ad agricolas, ne a me ipso recedam. In agris erant tum senatores, id est senes, siquidem aranti L. Quinctio Cincinnato nuntiatum est eum dictatorem esse factum; cuius dictatoris iussu magister equitum C. Servilius Ahala Sp. Maelium regnum adpetentem occupatum interemit. A villa in senatum arcessebatur et Curius et ceteri senes, ex quo, qui eos arcessebant viatores nominati sunt. Num igitur horum senectus miserabilis fuit qui se agri cultione oblectabant? Mea quidem sententia haud scio an nulla beatior possit esse, neque solum officio, quod hominum generi universo cultura agrorum est salutaris, sed et delectatione, quam dixi, et saturitate copiaque rerum omnium quae ad victum hominum, ad cultum etiam deorum pertinent; ut, quoniam haec quidam desiderant, in gratiam iam cum voluptate redeamus. Semper enim boni adsiduique domini referta cella vinaria, olearia, etiam penaria est, villaque tota locuples est; abundat porco, haedo, agno, gallina, lacte, caseo, melle. Iam hortum ipsi agricolae succidiam alteram appellant. Conditiora facit haec supervacaneis etiam operis aucupium atque venatio. **57**. Quid de pratorum viriditate aut arborum ordinibus aut vinearum olivetorumve specie plura dicam? Brevi praecidam: agro bene culto nihil potest esse nec usu uberius nec specie ornatius; ad quem fruendum non modo non retardat, verum etiam invitat atque adlectat senectus. Ubi enim potest illa aetas aut calescere vel apricatione melius vel igni, aut vicissim umbris aquisve refrigerari salubrius? **58**. Sibi habeant igitur arma, sibi equos,

sibi hastas, sibi clavam et pilam, sibi natationes atque cursus; nobis senibus ex lusionibus multis talos relinquant et tesseras; id ipsum utrum lubebit, quoniam sine eis beata esse senectus potest.

XVII. **59**. Multas ad res perutiles Xenophontis libri sunt, quos legite, quaeso, studiose, ut facitis. Quam copiose ab eo agri cultura laudatur in eo libro qui est de tuenda re familiari, qui *Oeconomicus* inscribitur! Atque ut intellegatis nihil ei tam regale videri quam studium agri colendi, Socrates in eo libro loquitur cum Critobulo, Cyrum minorem, Persarum regem, praestantem ingenio atque imperi gloria, cum Lysander Lacedaemonius, vir summae virtutis, venisset ad eum Sardis eique dona a sociis attulisset, et ceteris in rebus comem erga Lysandrum atque humanum fuisse, et ei quendam consaeptum agrum diligenter consitum ostendisse. Cum autem admiraretur Lysander et proceritates arborum et derectos in quincuncem ordines et humum subactam atque puram et suavitatem odorum qui adflarentur ex floribus, tum eum dixisse, mirari se non modo diligentiam sed etiam sollertiam eius a quo essent illa dimensa atque discripta; et Cyrum respondisse: 'Atqui ego ista sum omnia dimensus; mei sunt ordines, mea discriptio; multae etiam istarum arborum mea manu sunt satae.' Tum Lysandrum, intuentem purpuram eius et nitorem corporis ornatumque Persicum multo auro multisque gemmis, dixisse: 'Rite vero te, Cyre, beatum ferunt, quoniam virtuti tuae fortuna coniuncta est.'

60. Hac igitur fortuna frui licet senibus, nec aetas impedit quo minus et ceterarum rerum et in primis agri

colendi studia teneamus usque ad ultimum tempus senectutis. M. quidem Valerium Corvinum accepimus ad centesimum annum perduxisse, cum esset acta iam aetate in agris eosque coleret; cuius inter primum et sextum consulatum sex et quadraginta anni interfuerunt. Ita quantum spatium aetatis maiores ad senectutis initium esse voluerunt, tantus illi cursus honorum fuit; atque huius extrema aetas hoc beatior quam media, quod auctoritatis habebat plus, laboris minus. Apex est autem senectutis auctoritas. **61**. Quanta fuit in L. Caecilio Metello! quanta in A. Atilio Calatino! in quem illud elogium: 'Hunc unum plurimae consentiunt gentes populi primarium fuisse virum.' Notum est carmen incisum in sepulcro. Iure igitur gravis, cuius de laudibus omnium esset fama consentiens. Quem virum nuper P. Crassum pontificem maximum, quem postea M. Lepidum eodem sacerdotio praeditum, vidimus! Quid de Paulo aut Africano loquar, aut, ut iam ante, de Maximo? quorum non in sententia solum, sed etiam in nutu residebat auctoritas. Habet senectus, honorata praesertim, tantam auctoritatem ut ea pluris sit quam omnes adulescentiae voluptates.

XVIII. **62**. Sed in omni oratione mementote eam me senectutem laudare quae fundamentis adulescentiae constituta sit. Ex quo efficitur id quod ego magno quondam cum adsensu omnium dixi, miseram esse senectutem quae se oratione defenderet. Non cani nec rugae repente auctoritatem arripere possunt; sed honeste acta superior aetas fructus capit auctoritatis extremos. **63**. Haec enim ipsa sunt honorabilia quae videntur levia atque communia —salutari, adpeti, decedi, adsurgi, deduci, reduci, consuli; quae et apud nos et in aliis civitatibus, ut quaeque

optime morata est, ita diligentissime observantur. Lysandrum Lacedaemonium, cuius modo feci mentionem, dicere aiunt solitum Lacedaemonem esse honestissimum domicilium senectutis; nusquam enim tantum tribuitur aetati, nusquam est senectus honoratior. Quin etiam memoriae proditum est, cum Athenis ludis quidam in theatrum grandis natu venisset, magno consessu locum nusquam ei datum a suis civibus; cum autem ad Lacedaemonios accessisset, qui, legati cum essent, certo in loco consederant, consurrexisse omnes illi dicuntur, et senem sessum recepisse. **64**. Quibus cum a cuncto consessu plausus esset multiplex datus, dixisse ex eis quendam, Atheniensis scire quae recta essent, sed facere nolle. Multa in vestro collegio praeclara, sed hoc de quo agimus in primis, quod, ut quisque aetate antecedit, ita sententiae principatum tenet; neque solum honore antecedentibus, sed eis etiam qui cum imperio sunt, maiores natu augures anteponuntur. Quae sunt igitur voluptates corporis cum auctoritatis praemiis comparandae? quibus qui splendide usi sunt, ei mihi videntur fabulam aetatis peregisse, nec tamquam inexercitati histriones in extremo actu corruisse.

65. 'At sunt morosi et anxii et iracundi et difficiles senes.' Si quaerimus, etiam avari; sed haec morum vitia sunt, non senectutis. Ac morositas tamen et ea vitia quae dixi, habent aliquid excusationis, non illius quidem iustae, sed quae probari posse videatur; contemni se putant, despici, inludi; praeterea in fragili corpore odiosa omnis offensio est. Quae tamen omnia dulciora fiunt et moribus bonis et artibus; idque cum in vita tum in scaena intellegi potest ex eis fratribus,

qui in *Adelphis* sunt. Quanta in altero diritas, in altero comitas! Sic se res habet: ut enim non omne vinum, sic non omnis natura vetustate coacescit. Severitatem in senectute probo, sed eam (sicut alia) modicam; acerbitatem nullo modo. Avaritia vero senilis quid sibi velit non intellego. Potest enim quicquam esse absurdius quam, quo viae minus restet, eo plus viatici quaerere?

XIX. **66**. Quarta restat causa, quae maxime angere atque sollicitam habere nostram aetatem videtur, adpropinquatio mortis, quae certe a senectute non potest esse longe. O miserum senem, qui mortem contemnendam esse in tam longa aetate non viderit! quae aut plane neglegenda est, si omnino exstinguit animum, aut etiam optanda, si aliquo eum deducit ubi sit futurus aeternus. Atqui tertium certe nihil inveniri potest. **67**. Quid igitur timeam, si aut non miser post mortem aut beatus etiam futurus sum? Quamquam quis est tam stultus, quamvis sit adulescens, cui sit exploratum se ad vesperum esse victurum? Quin etiam aetas illa multo pluris quam nostra casus mortis habet; facilius in morbos incidunt adulescentes; gravius aegrotant; tristius curantur. Itaque pauci veniunt ad senectutem. Quod ni ita accideret, melius et prudentius viveretur. Mens enim et ratio et consilium in senibus est, qui si nulli fuissent, nullae omnino civitates fuissent. Sed redeo ad mortem impendentem. Quod est istud crimen senectutis, cum id ei videatis cum adulescentia esse commune?

68. Sensi ego in optimo filio, tu in exspectatis ad amplissimam dignitatem fratribus, Scipio, mortem omni aetati esse communem. 'At sperat adulescens diu se

victurum, quod sperare idem senex non potest.' Insipienter sperat. Quid enim stultius quam incerta pro certis habere, falsa pro veris? 'At senex ne quod speret quidem habet.' At est eo meliore condicione quam adulescens, cum id quod ille sperat hic consecutus est. Ille volt diu vivere, hic diu vixit. **69**. Quamquam, O Di boni! quid est in hominis natura diu? Da enim supremum tempus: exspectemus Tartessiorum regis aetatem; fuit enim, ut scriptum video, Arganthonius quidam Gadibus qui octoginta regnaverat annos, centum viginti vixerat. Sed mihi ne diuturnum quidem quicquam videtur in quo est aliquid extremum; cum enim id advenit, tum illud quod praeteriit effluxit; tantum remanet quod virtute et recte factis consecutus sis. Horae quidem cedunt et dies et menses et anni, nec praeteritum tempus umquam revertitur, nec quid sequatur sciri potest; quod cuique temporis ad vivendum datur, eo debet esse contentus. **70**. Neque enim histrioni, ut placeat, peragenda fabula est, modo in quocumque fuerit actu probetur, neque sapienti usque ad *Plaudite* veniendum est. Breve enim tempus aetatis satis longum est ad bene honesteque vivendum. Sin processerit longius, non magis dolendum est quam agricolae dolent, praeterita verni temporis suavitate aestatem autumnumque venisse. Ver enim tamquam adulescentiam significat, ostenditque fructus futuros, reliqua autem tempora demetendis fructibus et percipiendis accommodata sunt. **71**. Fructus autem senectutis est, ut saepe dixi, ante partorum bonorum memoria et copia. Omnia autem quae secundum naturam fiunt, sunt habenda in bonis. Quid est autem tam secundum naturam quam senibus emori? quod idem

contingit adulescentibus adversante et repugnante natura. Itaque adulescentes mihi mori sic videntur, ut cum aquae multitudine flammae vis opprimitur, senes autem sic ut cum sua sponte, nulla adhibita vi, consumptus ignis exstinguitur; et quasi poma ex arboribus, cruda si sunt, vix evelluntur, si matura et cocta, decidunt, sic vitam adulescentibus vis aufert, senibus maturitas. Quae quidem mihi tam iucunda est, ut, quo propius ad mortem accedam, quasi terram videre videar, aliquandoque in portum ex longa navigatione esse venturus.

XX. **72**. Senectutis autem nullus est certus terminus, recteque in ea vivitur, quoad munus offici exsequi et tueri possis [mortemque contemnere]. Ex quo fit ut animosior etiam senectus sit quam adulescentia et fortior. Hoc illud est, quod Pisistrato tyranno a Solone responsum est, cum illi quaerenti, qua tandem re fretus sibi tam audaciter obsisteret, respondisse dicitur: 'Senectute.' Sed vivendi est finis optimus, cum integra mente certisque sensibus opus ipsa suum eadem quae coagmentavit natura dissolvit. Ut navem, ut aedificium idem destruit facillime qui construxit, sic hominem eadem optime quae conglutinavit natura dissolvit. Iam omnis conglutinatio recens aegre, inveterata facile divellitur. Ita fit ut illud breve vitae reliquum nec avide adpetendum senibus nec sine causa deserendum sit; vetatque Pythagoras iniussu imperatoris, id est dei, de praesidio et statione vitae decedere. **73**. Solonis quidem sapientis est elogium, quo se negat velle suam mortem dolore amicorum et lamentis vacare. Volt, credo, se esse carum suis; sed haud scio an melius Ennius:

> Nemo me lacrumis decoret, neque funera fletu
> Faxit.

Non censet lugendam esse mortem, quam inmortalitas consequatur. **74**. Iam sensus moriendi aliquis esse potest, isque ad exiguum tempus, praesertim seni; post mortem quidem sensus aut optandus aut nullus est. Sed hoc meditatum ab adulescentia debet esse, mortem ut neglegamus, sine qua meditatione tranquillo animo esse nemo potest. Moriendum enim certe est, et incertum an hoc ipso die. Mortem igitur omnibus horis impendentem timens qui poterit animo consistere? **75**. De qua non ita longa disputatione opus esse videtur, cum recorder non L. Brutum, qui in liberanda patria est interfectus; non duos Decios, qui ad voluntariam mortem cursum equorum incitaverunt; non M. Atilium, qui ad supplicium est profectus, ut fidem hosti datam conservaret; non duos Scipiones, qui iter Poenis vel corporibus suis obstruere voluerunt; non avum tuum L. Paulum, qui morte eluit collegae in Cannensi ignominia temeritatem; non M. Marcellum, cuius interitum ne crudelissimus quidem hostis honore sepulturae carere passus est, — sed legiones nostras, quod scripsi in *Originibus*, in eum locum saepe profectas alacri animo et erecto, unde se redituras numquam arbitrarentur. Quod igitur adulescentes, — et ei quidem non solum indocti sed etiam rustici, — contemnunt, id docti senes extimescent? **76**. Omnino, ut mihi quidem videtur, studiorum omnium satietas vitae facit satietatem. Sunt pueritiae studia certa; num igitur ea desiderant adulescentes? Sunt ineuntis adulescentiae; num ea constans iam requirit aetas quae media dicitur? Sunt etiam eius aetatis; ne ea quidem quaeruntur in senectute. Sunt extrema quaedam studia senectutis. Ergo,

ut superiorum aetatum studia occidunt, sic occidunt etiam senectutis. Quod cum evenit, satietas vitae tempus maturum mortis adfert.

XXI. **77**. Non enim video cur quid ipse sentiam de morte non audeam vobis dicere, quod eo cernere mihi melius videor, quo ab ea propius absum. Ego vestros patres, tu Scipio, tuque Laeli, viros clarissimos mihique amicissimos vivere arbitror, et eam quidem vitam quae est sola vita nominanda. Nam, dum sumus inclusi in his compagibus corporis, munere quodam necessitatis et gravi opere perfungimur. Est enim animus caelestis ex altissimo domicilio depressus, et quasi demersus in terram, locum divinae naturae aeternitatique contrarium. Sed credo deos inmortalis sparsisse animos in corpora humana, ut essent qui terras tuerentur, quique caelestium ordinem contemplantes imitarentur eum vitae modo atque constantia. Nec me solum ratio ac disputatio impulit ut ita crederem, sed nobilitas etiam summorum philosophorum et auctoritas. **78**. Audiebam Pythagoram Pythagoreosque, incolas paene nostros, qui essent Italici philosophi quondam nominati, numquam dubitasse quin ex universa mente divina delibatos animos haberemus. Demonstrabantur mihi praeterea quae Socrates supremo vitae die de inmortalitate animorum disseruisset, is qui esset omnium sapientissimus oraculo Apollinis iudicatus. Quid multa? Sic mihi persuasi, sic sentio, cum tanta celeritas animorum sit, tanta memoria praeteritorum futurorumque prudentia, tot artes, tantae scientiae, tot inventa, non posse eam naturam quae res eas contineat esse mortalem; cumque semper

agitetur animus, nec principium motus habeat, quia se ipse moveat, ne finem quidem habiturum esse motus, quia numquam se ipse sit relicturus; et cum simplex animi natura esset, neque haberet in se quicquam admixtum dispar sui atque dissimile, non posse eum dividi; quod si non possit, non posse interire; magnoque esse argumento homines scire pleraque ante quam nati sint, quod iam pueri, cum artis difficilis discant, ita celeriter res innumerabilis arripiant, ut eas non tum primum accipere videantur, sed reminisci et recordari. Haec Platonis fere.

XXII. **79**. Apud Xenophontem autem moriens Cyrus maior haec dicit: 'Nolite arbitrari, O mihi carissimi filii, me, cum a vobis discessero, nusquam aut nullum fore. Nec enim dum eram vobiscum animum meum videbatis, sed eum esse in hoc corpore ex eis rebus quas gerebam intellegebatis. Eundem igitur esse creditote, etiam si nullum videbitis. **80**. Nec vero clarorum virorum post mortem honores permanerent, si nihil eorum ipsorum animi efficerent, quo diutius memoriam sui teneremus. Mihi quidem numquam persuaderi potuit animos dum in corporibus essent mortalibus vivere, cum excessissent ex eis emori, nec vero tum animum esse insipientem cum ex insipienti corpore evasisset; sed cum omni admixtione corporis liberatus purus et integer esse coepisset, tum esse sapientem. Atque etiam, cum hominis natura morte dissolvitur, ceterarum rerum perspicuum est quo quaeque discedat; abeunt enim illuc omnia unde orta sunt, animus autem solus nec cum adest nec cum discedit apparet. **81**. Iam vero videtis nihil esse morti tam simile quam somnum. Atqui dormientium animi maxime declarant divinitatem

suam; multa enim cum remissi et liberi sunt futura prospiciunt. Ex quo intellegitur quales futuri sint, cum se plane corporis vinculis relaxaverint. Qua re, si haec ita sunt, sic me colitote' inquit 'ut deum. Sin una est interiturus animus cum corpore, vos tamen, deos verentes, qui hanc omnem pulchritudinem tuentur et regunt, memoriam nostri pie inviolateque servabitis.'

XXIII. **82**. Cyrus quidem haec moriens. Nos, si placet, nostra videamus. Nemo umquam mihi, Scipio, persuadebit aut patrem tuum Paulum, aut duos avos Paulum et Africanum, aut Africani patrem aut patruum, aut multos praestantis viros quos enumerare non est necesse, tanta esse conatos quae ad posteritatis memoriam pertinerent, nisi animo cernerent posteritatem ad se pertinere. An censes, — ut de me ipse aliquid more senum glorier, — me tantos labores diurnos nocturnosque domi militiaeque suscepturum fuisse, si isdem finibus gloriam meam quibus vitam essem terminaturus? Nonne melius multo fuisset otiosam aetatem et quietam sine ullo labore et contentione traducere? Sed nescio quo modo animus erigens se posteritatem ita semper prospiciebat, quasi cum excessisset e vita tum denique victurus esset. Quod quidem ni ita se haberet, ut animi inmortales essent, haud optimi cuiusque animus maxime ad inmortalitatem et gloriam niteretur. **83**. Quid, quod sapientissimus quisque aequissimo animo moritur, stultissimus iniquissimo? Nonne vobis videtur is animus, qui plus cernat et longius, videre se ad meliora proficisci, ille autem cuius obtusior sit acies non videre? Equidem efferor studio patres vestros, quos colui et dilexi, videndi; neque vero eos solum

convenire aveo quos ipse cognovi, sed illos etiam de quibus audivi et legi et ipse conscripsi. Quo quidem me proficiscentem haud sane quis facile retraxerit, nec tamquam Peliam recoxerit. Et si quis deus mihi largiatur ut ex hac aetate repuerascam et in cunis vagiam, valde recusem, nec vero velim, quasi decurso spatio, ad carceres a calce revocari. **84**. Quid habet enim vita commodi? Quid non potius laboris? Sed habeat sane: habet certe tamen aut satietatem aut modum. Non libet enim mihi deplorare vitam, quod multi et ei docti saepe fecerunt, neque me vixisse paenitet, quoniam ita vixi ut non frustra me natum existimem, et ex vita ita discedo tamquam ex hospitio, non tamquam e domo. Commorandi enim natura devorsorium nobis, non habitandi dedit.

O praeclarum diem, cum in illud divinum animorum concilium coetumque proficiscar, cumque ex hac turba et conluvione discedam! Proficiscar enim non ad eos solum viros de quibus ante dixi, verum etiam ad Catonem meum, quo nemo vir melior natus est, nemo pietate praestantior; cuius a me corpus est crematum,— quod contra decuit ab illo meum,—animus vero non me deserens, sed respectans, in ea profecto loca discessit, quo mihi ipsi cernebat esse veniendum. Quem ego meum casum fortiter ferre visus sum, non quo aequo animo ferrem, sed me ipse consolabar existimans non longinquum inter nos digressum et discessum fore.

85. His mihi rebus, Scipio,—id enim te cum Laelio admirari solere dixisti,—levis est senectus, nec solum non molesta sed etiam iucunda. Quod si in hoc erro, qui animos hominum inmortalis esse credam, libenter

erro nec mihi hunc errorem, quo delector, dum vivo extorqueri volo. Sin mortuus, ut quidam minuti philosophi censent, nihil sentiam, non vereor ne hunc errorem meum philosophi mortui inrideant. Quod si non sumus inmortales futuri, tamen exstingui homini suo tempore optabile est. Nam habet natura ut aliarum omnium rerum, sic vivendi modum. Senectus autem aetatis est peractio tamquam fabulae, cuius defatigationem fugere debemus, praesertim adiuncta satietate.

Haec habui de senectute quae dicerem, ad quam utinam perveniatis, ut ea quae ex me audistis, re experti, probare possitis.

NOTES

ARGUMENT

CHAP. I, 1–3. Cicero sets forth to his friend Atticus his motive in composing the work.

II, 4–6. Scipio and Laelius ask of Cato his experience of old age.

III, 7–9. Cato recounts the charges commonly made against old age, and qualifies them.

IV; V; 10–15. He speaks of the old age of Fabius Maximus, employed in politics and war, and of other examples, both Greek and Roman, philosophers and poets. There are four complaints against old age: exclusion from active life, the enfeebling of the bodily powers, deprivation of sensual pleasure, and the near approach of death.

VI, 15–20. Does old age unfit for active life? Age has its own activities: Claudius, Cato, etc.

VII; VIII; 21–26. The alleged defect of memory: examples of aged poets, philosophers, orators, etc., and of others, who continue to learn in advanced life.

IX; X, 27–34. Lack of bodily vigor: only the athletes mourn this, and even this is not universal among the old. Exercise and temperance resist old age: examples of Nestor and Cato himself. Cyrus and Masinissa.

XI, 34–38. Nor is strength needed, and if many old men are inferior, so are many young men. We must withstand old age, both physically and mentally, as did Appius Claudius; for only a self-respecting independent old age is honored.

XII, 39–42. Age, it is true, is incapable of bodily pleasure; but in this it has the advantage over youthful passion.

XIII, 43–45. The false teaching of the Epicureans respecting pleasure.

XIV, 46–50. Old age has still the true joys of companionship, science, and authorship.

XV, 51–54. So also the occupations and delights of husbandry: testimony of Hesiod and Homer.

XVI, 55–58. Curius and Cincinnatus: agriculture is peculiarly fit for the old.

XVII, 59–61. Xenophon, Cyrus, Valerius, and others.

XVIII, 62–65. But only a well-spent youth can prepare for an honorable age: the unhappiness of age is the fault of temper in the old.

XIX, 66–71. The approach of death: comparison of exposure to death in age and youth.

XX, 72–76. Death is no evil; but either a cessation of being or a blessed change.

XXI, 77–78. The good man hopes for immortality.

XXII, 79–81. The dying Cyrus.

XXIII, 82–85. The hope which sustains honorable labors; anticipation of a noble life.

The grammars cited are those of Allen and Greenough (§), Bennett (B.), Gildersleeve (G.), and Harkness (H.).

Marginal heavy-faced figures refer to sections of text; heavy-faced figures at the beginning of paragraphs refer to pages; and light-faced figures refer to lines.

1 1 **Tite**: in addressing his friend *Titus* Pomponius Atticus (see Index of Persons), Cicero applies some hexameters from Ennius' *Annales*, addressed to *Titus* Quinctius Flamininus (see Index of Persons), the conqueror of Macedon (B.C. 198). Flamininus, after being for forty days baffled in an attempt to cross the mountain passes of Epirus, was **1**

at last approached by a faithful herdsman, who offered to guide him. The victory of Cynoscephalae which followed, B.C. 197, gave Flamininus unlimited control over Greece, which he used with great moderation. — **adiuero**: § 181, *a*; B. 116, 1; G. 131, 3; cf. H. 238. — **curam**: 'anxiety,' on account of the success of the enemy. — **levasso**: = *levavero*; § 183, 3; G. 131, 4, *b*, 1; H. 244, 4.

1 2 coquit: 'burns.' — **versāt**: 'goads.' The *a* is long, its original quantity; § 629, *d*; B. 367, 2, and 3, *a*; G. 708, 5; H. 692.

1 6 Ille vir: the herdsman, subject of *adfatur*. — **plenŭs**: in early Latin final *s* does not make position with a consonant beginning the next word. — **fidēi**: retains the original *ē* of the fifth declension.

1 7 Quamquam: 'and yet.'

1 9 moderationem . . . et aequitatem (both with *animi*): 'self-control and even temper.'

1 10 cognomen: the surname *Atticus*, due to the Greek culture and sympathies of Pomponius, and his long residence at Athens. — **deportasse**: a kind of technical military term. The word, moreover, is regularly used of bringing to Rome or Italy something from outside. — **humanitatem**: 'refinement.'

1 11 prudentiam: 'good-sense,' from *providentia*. The force of the *pro* is obscured, but the word implies the power of seeing clearly the true relations of things, according to Cicero's own definition of it (*de Off.* 1, 153): *prudentiam enim, quam Graeci φρόνησιν dicunt, . . . quae est rerum expetendarum fugiendarumque scientia.*

1 12 eisdem rebus: the civil war and the despotism of Caesar; see Introduction, p. xiii. — **me ipsum**: § 581, N. 2; H. 613, 6.

1 13 maior: 'a more serious matter.'

1 14 visum est mihi: 'I have determined.'

2 **1 15 Hoc**: not merely antecedent of *quod*, but demonstrative: 'this burden' (i.e. old age).

1 16 certe: 'at any rate.'

1 17 senectutis: the Romans distinguished the ages of *pueritia*, *adulescentia*, *iuventus*, *aetas seniorum*, and *senectus*, in periods of about fifteen years, but not very exactly. — **te quidem**: here *quidem* merely emphasizes *te*.

1 18 modice ac sapienter: reflecting *moderationem* and *aequitatem*, l. 9. The *sapiens* is the philosopher, who is supposed to have reached the calm heights above all disturbances of the soul:

bene . . . munita . . .
edita doctrina sapientum templa serena. — Lucr. 2, 7.

— **et ferre et laturum esse**: recalling *iam urgentis* and *certe adventantis*, l. 16.

1 19 mihi: not really emphatic, but opposed to *te* and *tu* according to the Roman fashion (cf. Cic. *pro Rosc.* 1).

1 20 eo . . . quo: 'such . . . as.'

1 21 uteretur: subjv. of characteristic.

1 22 confectio: 'composition.'

1 23 absterserit: Cicero admits to Atticus in one of his letters to him (*ad Att.* 14, 21, 3) that old age is making him bitter, and that he needs himself to take the medicine he has prescribed to others in his essay: *legendus mihi saepius est 'Cato Maior' ad te missus; amariorem enim me senectus facit.* — **mollem**: 'undisturbed.'

2 2 cui: this relative introduces the causal subjunctive *possit.* Its case is governed by *pareat.* — **pareat**: subjv. by attraction. — **tempus aetatis**: 'period of life.' The word *aetas* as found in the *Cato Maior* admits of at least three translations: 'life' as a whole, as here; 'period of life,' as in 4, p. 2, l. 24; a special period of life, as 'youth,' in 45, p. 19, l. 15; 'old age,' in 39, p. 16, l. 25.

2 3 possit: causal subjv. Its subject is *is* (antecedent of *qui*) understood. *cui qui pareat . . . possit* is equivalent to *cum is qui ei pareat . . . possit.* — A good parallel for the construction is found in Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 45: *qualia igitur ista bona sunt, quae qui habeat miserrimus esse possit?*

2 4 de ceteris . . . multa . . . hunc librum . . . de senectute: note **3**
the elaborate chiasmus. — **ceteris**: other topics of philosophy (easily inferred from the preceding sentence), not 'other matters in general,' in which case *rebus* would be regularly employed. Cicero uses a similar method of transition in *Tusc.* 4, 5: *sed de ceteris studiis alio loco et dicemus et saepe diximus.* Here *studiis* is necessary to make the thought clear.

2 5 misimus: epistolary perfect. — **autem**: 'however.' The thought is: 'I do not write it, however, as a treatise in my own person, but have put it in the mouth of a fit speaker, not Tithonus, but,' etc.

2 6 Tithono: an example of "immortal age" (see Index of Persons):

> A white-hair'd shadow roaming like a dream
> The ever-silent spaces of the East. — Tennyson, *Tithonus.*

2 7 Catoni seni: 'Cato, an old man,' or 'the aged Cato,' not necessarily 'Cato the elder.' Cicero explains his reasons for making Cato the spokesman, and uses the terms *Cato Maior* and *Cato senex* with clear difference in meaning, *Lael.* 4: *sed ut in 'Catone Maiore,' qui est scriptus*

ad te de senectute, Catonem induxi senem disputantem, quia nulla videbatur aptior persona quae de illa aetate loqueretur quam eius qui et diutissime senex fuisset et in ipsa senectute praeter ceteros floruisset, etc.

2 8 **Apud quem**: 'at whose house.'

2 9 **Laelium et Scipionem**: these two names are types of friendship like Damon and Pythias, or David and Jonathan. Cicero's treatise on Friendship, *de Amicitia*, the companion to the *de Senectute*, has its name from Laelius, as the latter from Cato, and in one of his letters (*ad Fam.* 5, 7, 3) he jestingly expresses the hope that the same relations may exist between himself and Pompey as those between Laelius and Scipio: *ut tibi multo maiori quam Africanus fuit, . . . me, non multo minorem quam Laelium, facile et in re publica et in amicitia adiunctum esse patiare.*

2 11 **ipse**: as opposed to the part he plays in this book.

2 12 **attribuito**: 'you must ascribe it.' For the use of the future imperative, especially common in apodoses and in familiar language, see § 449; B. 281, 1, *a*; G. 268, 2. — **litteris Graecis . . . in senectute**: this statement is at least greatly overdrawn. On the other hand, the common story that Cato did not learn the Greek language till he was an old man is probably untrue, as is indicated by various incidents recorded of his life.

2 14 **plura**: sc. *dicere*. — **Iam**: 'presently.'

4 2 16 **Saepe numero**: 'oftentimes,' lit. 'often by count.'

2 17 **excellentem**: as compared with others.

2 18 **perfectam**: 'absolute.' — **quod . . . senserim**: informal indir. disc. following *admirari*.

2 20 **Aetna**: a proverbial expression from Euripides (*Herc. Fur.* 637), referring to the myth of Enceladus buried beneath Mt. Etna. Cf. Longfellow's *Enceladus*:

> Under Mount Etna he lies,
> It is slumber, it is not death, etc.

2 22 **haud sane**: 'not very.' A kind of litotes, always with a jocose turn, as our "not much of," etc.

2 24 **omnis aetas**: equivalent to *omne tempus aetatis* in 2, p. 2, l. 2.

2 25 **omnia bona . . . adferat**: these Stoic sentiments are put naturally in the mouth of Cato, to whose character the doctrine had a special fitness. Yet his native austerity did not make Cato a disciple of the Stoic system of philosophy, like Scipio and Laelius, and in urging the expulsion of the three Greek philosophers from Rome in 155 B.C., he made no exception in favor of the Stoic Diogenes.

2 30 **putavissent**: subjv. of indir. disc. (for indic. of direct, which the Latin prefers in these expressions, e.g. *putaveram*, where we say "should have thought").

2 31 **Qui**: 'how'; an old ablative fossilized as an adverb. — **adulescentiae senectus,** etc: cf. on 2, p. 1, l. 17, *senectutis*. In the present passage Cicero makes *adulescentia* cover also *iuventus*, and *senectus* cover the *aetas seniorum*.

3 3 **Praeterita**: very emphatic by its position.— **quamvis**: 'however'; the word modifies *longa*. — **cum effluxisset**: i.e. in the case supposed. For *cum* clauses equivalent to conditions see § 542; G. 583.

3 6 **quae utinam . . . esset**: 'and I wish it were.' **5**

3 7 **cognomine**: i.e. the title *sapiens* bestowed on him. — **in hoc . . . sapientes**: 'a philosopher,' alluding to the Stoic doctrine: *secundum naturam vivere*.

3 10 **descriptae**: *describere* here is used like *scribere*. It more commonly means either to 'transcribe' or to 'describe.' See App. — **extremum actum**: i.e. life is a drama and its author, Nature, will not leave its last act void of interest. — **inerti**: 'without skill' (*ars*).

3 11 **tamen**: 'yet,' however excellent the composition, it must have a beginning, middle, and end. — **aliquid extremum**: *aliquid* is used as a substantive, modified first by *extremum* and then by *vietum* and *caducum*.

3 12 **bacis**: meaning the smaller fruits, as olives, etc.

3 13 **maturitate tempestiva**: 'in the fullness of time.'

3 14 **quod**: 'and this state of things.' — **molliter**: 'patiently'; lit. 'smoothly' or 'without resistance'; also used in a bad sense, 'effeminately.' — **Quid est,** etc.: the sense is that fighting against the plans of nature, of which old age is a part, is just as foolish and hopeless as fighting against the gods, as the giants did.

3 15 **Gigantum**: a brood of monsters who revolted against Zeus and were punished by being thrust under the earth, Enceladus, for instance, under Mt. Etna (see note on 4, p. 2, l. 20, *Aetna*). They were often confounded with the Titans, an earlier race of demigods, children of Uranus and Gaea.

3 16 **Atqui**: regularly used of the minor premise; 'and now' (that **6**
being so). — **ut . . . pollicear**: the clause is parenthetic; translate by an infinitive; §§ 532, 533; B. 282, 4; G. 545, R. 3; H. 568, 4.

3 18 **fieri**: belonging grammatically to the last verb, *volumus*. *Speramus* would take a future infinitive.

3 19 **quibus . . . rationibus**: by what means. — **ingravescentem aetatem**: 'the increasing burden of age.'

3 21 **vero**: 'of course.'

3 23 **Volumus sane**: stronger than Cato's *gratum futurum est*; 'why, certainly we are anxious.'

3 24 **longam . . . viam**, etc.: the same idea is expressed by Plato, *Rep.*, 328 E. — **confeceris**: the tense, as regularly after *tamquam*, *tametsi*, etc., follows the rules of sequence, not of conditional clauses; § 524, N. 2; B. 307, 2; G. 602; H. 584.

3 25 **ingrediendum**: neuter (impersonal) gerundive, governing the accusative, *quam*; § 500, 3, ex. 4 and 5; G. 427, N. 2; H. 621, 3. (In Greek this usage is regularly retained with the verbal *τέον* and in Sanskrit it is universal. An archaism in Latin, perhaps here used intentionally as such.) — **quale**: i.e. 'what is the nature of.'

7 **3** 27 **aequalium** (i.e. in age): 'mates,' explaining *pares*, below. — **pares**, etc.: a proverb. Cf. Plato, *Rep.* 329 A (Jowett): "Old men flock together, they are birds of a feather, as the proverb says." Much of what follows here is translated almost literally from the same part of the *Republic*. — **autem**: used in its weakest sense: 'for, you know.'

3 29 **quae . . . quae**: cognate acc., referring by *synesis* (agreement in sense instead of form), to *querellis*, l. 27.

3 30 **tum . . . tum**: *now . . . now*.

3 31 **carerent . . . spernerentur**: subjv. because the blame is stated as that of the old men, not of the writer.

4 3 **usu venirent**: *usu* is probably abl. of means.

4 4 **quorum . . . multorum**: emphasis is here placed upon the difference between these old men and others, and the first genitive should be regarded as dependent on the second, not as in agreement with it.

4 5 **sine querella**: equivalent to an adjective; 'uncomplaining.'

4 8 **moribus**: 'character,' as determined by habit. — **Moderati**: 'well-regulated.' These and the following adjectives apply to qualities of character either natural or developed, not to purely intellectual qualities.

4 9 **difficiles**: 'hard to please' (of the temper). Horace uses the same adjective of the *senex*, *A. P.* 173. — **inhumani**: 'churlish' (of breeding merely). Horace, *Ep.* 2, 2, 211, asks as one of his test questions:

lenior ac melior fis accedente senecta?

and Cicero admits to Atticus that he feels the evil effects of old age upon his disposition. See note on 2, p. 1, l. 23.

4 10 **autem**: 'on the other hand.'

8 **4** 13 **opes et copias**: of these *opes* is the more general word, including immaterial as well as material resources, while *copias* implies only the latter. — **dignitatem**: 'position.'

4 16 Est . . . aliquid: 'there is something in that, to be sure.'

4 17 Seriphio: the anecdote, referring to the honors that Themistocles received at Sparta, is told by Herodotus (8, 125), of a citizen of Belbina, an islet near Sunium. Seriphus is one of the smallest of the Cyclades. Juvenal (10, 170) uses it to typify obscurity and diminutive size:

ut Gyari clausus scopulis, parvaque Seripho.

4 20 si . . . essem: supply the apodosis *clarus umquam fuissem*, from *fuisses* below.

4 21 Quod . . . dici potest: 'the same point may be made.'

4 23 ne . . . quidem: a general negative is strengthened rather than neutralized by a following *ne . . . quidem*; § 327, 1; B. 347, 2; G. 445.

4 24 non gravis: 'otherwise than burdensome.' Both wisdom and estate are needed for the comfort of age, just as talent and opportunity were both needed for the glory of Themistocles.

4 25 omnino: 'in general.' It occurs with its other common meaning, **9**
'to be sure,' in 28 and 45. A new topic, how to fight against the evils of old age, is here introduced, and discussed up to 15. The discussion begins with a general statement — *aptissima omnino . . . iucundissima est* — which is followed by concrete illustrations from the lives of famous men. — **senectutis**: subj. gen. Cf., for a different figure, 35: *resistendum est senectuti*, where arms to be used *against* old age are indicated. — **artes**: 'study' of the liberal arts.

4 27 diu multumque: i.e. a long and varied life. — **vixeris**: general condition; § 518, *a*; B. 302, 2; G. 595, R. 3; H. 578, 2.

4 28 deserunt: used absolutely. The mixture of metaphors in this sentence is striking: *arma . . . cultae . . . ecferunt fructus . . . deserunt.* — **ne . . . quidem**: see note on 8, l. 23.

4 29 maximum: pred., 'very important.'

5 3 condita: from *condio*, not *condo*. **10**

5 4 quamquam: corrective, as in 2. He was not *after all* so very old when Cato first knew him well.

5 6 consul primum (B.C. 233): this fixes the date of Cato's birth as B.C. 234.

5 7 adulescentulus: Cato was at this time (B.C. 214) twenty years old. Seventeen was the age at which the young man was liable to military service, and this date (B.C. 217) is given by Plutarch and Nepos for Cato's first campaign. Nepos adds that in 214 he was military tribune, which is inconsistent with the rule that this office required five years of service, as well as with the word *miles* in the text. His quaestorship (in

B.C. 204) agrees with the rule that ten years of service (or at least of presenting one's self for conscription) was necessary before holding any civil office.

5 8 **quintoque anno post**: i.e. counting in the fifth year, B.C. 209.

5 9 **quadriennio post**: i.e. after the expiration of the full four years' interval, B.C. 204.

5 11 **cum quidem**: 'at which very time.' Cato has now traced his acquaintance with Fabius to the time when he was really *admodum grandis natu.* The whole of this prelude, suited to the garrulousness of age, indicates also the respective dates of these lives. — **legis Cinciae**: (B.C. 204) ordaining *ne quis ob causam orandam pecuniam donumve acciperet.* This was one of a series of laws designed to shut out the governing aristocracy from active business. The idea seems to have been similar to that which requires members of the British Parliament to serve without compensation; government was the business of a rich hereditary aristocracy.

5 12 **ut adulescens**: thus a match for Hannibal, who was really young (*iuveniliter exsultantem*).

5 13 **plane grandis**: not so strong as *admodum grandis.* — **iuveniliter exsultantem**: 'in the vigor and pride of his youth.'

5 14 **patientia**: 'stubborn resistance.' — **molliebat**: 'held in check.'

5 15 **familiaris**: rather an unwarranted term under the circumstances. Towards the end of his life Cato modified his stern conservatism so far as to make a study of Greek literature (see 3); but at the time alluded to he was the last man in Rome to make an 'intimate' of a mere man of letters, of Greek birth too, like Ennius. Indeed, he reproached M. Fulvius Nobilior, a leader in the Hellenizing movement of the day, for having taken Ennius with him on his campaign in Aetolia. In support of Cicero's representation here, however, it should be noticed that Cato was responsible for Ennius' first going to Rome (see Index of Persons — *Ennius*), and that Cato's deeds were glorified by Ennius in his *Annales.*

5 16 **Unus**, etc.: quoted from the *Annales* of Ennius. The same lines are again quoted by Cicero, *de Off.* 1, 84, and (the first verse) *ad Att.* 2, 19, 2. Vergil adapts the first line, *A.* 6, 845:

tu Maximus ille es,
unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.

— **cunctando**: hence his cognomen, *Cunctator.*

5 17 **Noenum**: a negative particle found chiefly in early Latin. — **rumores**: the talk of the people against him accusing him of cowardice

on account of his conservative policy. — **ponebāt**: for the *ā* see note on *versāt*, 1, p. 1, l. 2. — **salutem**: i.e. of the state.

5 18 post: i.e. not only then, but as it is now. — **magis**: 'more' (than it otherwise would).

5 19 Tarentum: Tarentum fell into the hands of Hannibal B.C. 213. **11**
It was retaken by the Romans, under Fabius Maximus, B.C. 209.

5 20 Salinatori: a mistake of Cicero's. M. Livius Salinator was a distinguished and successful general in the campaign against Hasdrubal, B.C. 207; it was M. Livius Macatus that lost Tarentum, and gave efficient service from the citadel in its recovery. See Index of Persons.

5 24 in toga: i.e. in civil affairs. *Pacis est insigne et oti toga; contra autem arma, tumultus atque belli.* Cic. *in Pis.* 73.— **consul iterum**: 'being consul for a second term' (B.C. 228). The law of Flaminius was passed in 232, so that Cicero is mistaken in putting the consulship of Fabius and Camillus in the same year with it.

5 25 C. Flaminio: the chief popular leader of his day, often held up to reproach by writers, like Cicero, of aristocratic sympathies. The reproach was enhanced by his disgraceful blunder in the battle of Lake Trasimenus, B.C. 217, in which his army was cut to pieces and he himself killed. In spite of his ill repute as a demagogue, and his military failure, Flaminius was the author of some very salutary measures. In his tribunate, B.C. 232, he carried the law here referred to, dividing the Gallic and Picene territory among poor citizens, — the policy afterwards revived by the Gracchi, and perhaps the most hopeful remedy of the evils of the State. This measure he carried by a popular vote, against the opposition of the Senate, an act which was strictly unconstitutional, inasmuch as this was an administrative measure, which fell within the province of the Senate.

5 27 dividenti: this participle has a conative force.

5 28 dicere ausus est: the expression here quoted was safe enough in the mouth of a leader of the aristocracy, as Fabius was — at once senator, executive officer, and interpreter of the omens. But it of course struck at the root of the whole Roman polity and religion, betraying a decline of faith which was the first symptom of national decay. — **optimis auspiciis, etc.**: cf. *Iliad* 12, 243 (Lang, Leaf, and Myers): "But thou biddest us be obedient to birds long of wing, whereto I give no heed, nor take any care thereof, whether they fare to the right, to the dawn and to the sun, or to the left, to mist and darkness. . . . One omen is best, to fight for our own country."

5 30 ferrentur: *legem ferre* = 'to propose a law.'

12 **6 1 fili . . . consularis**: this son, who had the same name as his father, was consul B.C. 213. It is of him that the story is told, strongly characteristic of Roman customs, that his father, being sent as *legatus* to his camp, and meeting him as he proceeded with his train of lictors, neglected to alight from his horse, as respect for the consul required. Upon this a lictor, at the son's order, commanded him to dismount. He sprang at once to his feet, with the words, "I wished to see, my son, how well you knew that you were consul" (Liv. 24, 44). — **Est in manibus laudatio**: 'his eulogy is extant,' 'at hand.'

6 2 quem philosophum, etc.: i.e. a nobler temper than any philosopher.

6 3 in luce . . . in oculis civium: the second expression merely intensifies the first: 'in the light of publicity and before the public gaze.'

6 4 intus domique: contrasted respectively with *in luce* and *in oculis civium*: 'in the obscurity of private life and the society of his intimate friends.'

6 6 iuris augurii: i.e. the ecclesiastical or canon law of the Romans. It was characteristic of both Greeks and Romans, and one of the chief sources of their enduring freedom, that they had no priestly class, but that the religion of the State and the political administration of the State were in the same hands. A few priestly offices of low grade were held as professions by men of low rank; a few priesthoods of great dignity but of no political influence, such as that of *rex sacrificulus*, *flamen*, the *Salii*, etc., were held for life by men of rank, selected solely for their patrician birth; but the great colleges of *pontifices*, *augures*, etc., which had control of the religious institutions in their relation to the government, were invariably made up of leading statesmen. For example, Cicero was *augur*, Caesar was *pontifex*. From this it resulted that the interests of a priesthood were never, as in Egypt and other eastern countries, suffered to interfere with the interests of the State. The *ius augurium* was the code of rules by which the college of augurs interpreted the auspices, or expressed will of the gods. — **Multae . . . ut in homine Romano litterae**: 'a good knowledge of literature, for a Roman.' Cicero admits elsewhere also the superiority of the Greeks over the Romans in these matters: *doctrina Graecia nos et omni litterarum genere superabat.* — *Tusc.* 1, 3.

6 7 domestica . . . externa: 'Roman . . . foreign.' More often *domestica bella* are civil wars, *externa bella* wars waged by Rome against foreign nations.

6 8 ita: in correlation with *quasi*. Cf. 26, p. 11, l. 18, *sic . . . quasi.*

13 **6 11 Quorsus**: 'to what end.'

6 14 pedestris: the term 'infantry' is often applied in Greek and Latin to the whole land force as distinct from the marine.

6 16 quiete et pure atque eleganter: the *et* joins two ideas, the second of which contains two subdivisions: 'quietly *and* with uprightness and refinement.'

6 18 scribens: according to one tradition, Plato actually died pen in hand.

6 19 Panathenaicus: this was a eulogy of Athens.

6 21 vixitque: *que* here has an adversative force.

6 25 quod: cognate acc.

6 26 Sua . . . vitia . . . conferunt: 'charge their own failings upon.' **14**

6 30 fortis: 'spirited.' — **equus**: by Ennius, and also probably by Cicero, this word must have been spelled *equos*. The form *ecus* followed *equos*, and *equus* was not common till after the Augustan period. — **spatio . . . supremo**: 'at the end of the course.'

6 31 Olympia: cognate acc. By Ennius *u* would have been written instead of *y*, which was introduced in Cicero's time to represent the Greek *υ*. The expression is an imitation of the Greek *νικᾶν* Ὀλύμπια. Horace uses *coronari Olympia* in much the same sense (*Ep.* 1, 1, 49):

> *Quis circum pagos et circum compita pugnax*
> *magna coronari contemnat Olympia?*

7 2 Anno: i.e. it is now nineteen years since he died.

7 3 hi consules: T. Quinctius Flamininus and M'. Acilius Balbus, consuls B.C. 150, the assumed date of this dialogue. — **T. Flamininus**: not the Flamininus mentioned in 1.

7 5 iterum: to be taken with *Philippo* only.

7 6 legem Voconiam: this was one of the principal sumptuary laws of the Romans, or laws designed to control the private life and luxury of individuals. "The Voconian law, passed during the later republic, 169 B.C., imposed a restriction on the institution of women as heirs. It applied only to large estates. A person whom the census placed in the first class, as having a rated property of at least one hundred thousand *asses* (i.e. one thousand dollars, which in purchasing power was worth as much as ten thousand now), such a person was forbidden to appoint a woman as heir. . . . The alleged design of the statute is said to have been to restrain the growing luxury and extravagance of women, by withholding from them the means of being luxurious and extravagant on a large scale. It can hardly be supposed, however, that this was the principal reason for the measure. A stronger reason must have

been the desire of the wealthy class to keep large estates in the families, the agnate families, to which they belonged; if such an estate became the inheritance of a woman, it was apt to pass by her marriage into another family." — Hadley, *Introduction to Roman Law*, p. 308. See also Muirhead, *Roman Law*, p. 288.

7 7 bonis lateribus: 'with sound lungs.' — **suasissem**: see App.

15 **7 11 Etenim**: marks the transition from the general to the particular. The real subject of the essay begins here. The connection with the preceding part is as follows: Ennius bore cheerfully two things which are commonly considered great burdens — poverty and old age. And old age may be considered a burden with some show of reason, for I find four serious indictments commonly brought against it. The connection is with *putantur onera*. The attitude of those who bring these accusations may be compared with that taken by Matthew Arnold in his *Growing Old*:

> What is it to grow old?
> . . . .
> Is it to feel our strength —
> Not our bloom only, but our strength — decay?
> . . . .
> Yes, this and more! etc.

Cicero's attitude, on the other hand, in various passages throughout the essay, is similar to that of Browning in *Rabbi Ben Ezra*:

> Grow old along with me,
> The best is yet to be, etc.

7 17 A rebus gerendis: 'from active life'; not necessarily (though usually) 'war.'

7 19 res . . . seniles: 'offices of age.'

7 21 socer: his daughter married Marcus, son of Cato, a young man of great promise, who died B.C. 152 as praetor elect.

7 22 Fabricii, Curii, Coruncanii: see Index of Persons. These were statesmen of the time of Pyrrhus, all plebeians, and men equally distinguished for ability and integrity, such men as Cato would especially admire. Indeed Juvenal, *Sat.* 11, 90, in giving a similar catalogue of worthy *antiqui*, puts Cato himself in the same list with them:

> *cum tremerent autem Fabios durumque Catonem*
> *et Scauros et Fabricios,*

and Cicero, *de Or.* 3, 56, speaks of *Fabricii, Coruncanii, Catones.*

7 23 defendebant . . . agebant: the imperfect in both clauses indicates complete coextension of the two actions; § 545, *a*; G. 582.

7 24 **Appi Claudi**: see Index of Persons. The incident here related **16** of him that when blind and old he had himself brought into the senate in order to oppose negotiations with Pyrrhus, and to insist that there should be no negotiations with a foreign enemy on the soil of Italy, is the most illustrious in his life. The speech in which he enforced this policy was extant in the time of Cicero, and passed as the earliest specimen of Roman prose literature. — **accedebat**: i.e. to the infirmity of age was added the fact that (*ut*) he was blind.

7 26 **faciendum**: with both *pacem* and *foedus*.

7 27 **persecutus est**: 'has given in full.'

7 29 **viai**: old form of the genitive, probably partitive with *quo*: 'in what direction.'

7 30 **enim**: (and the rest I omit), 'for,' etc.

7 31 **et tamen**: 'and yet' you do not need to go even to the poem (second-hand authority), 'for the oration itself is extant.' This succession of ellipses is not inappropriate to the diffuse and often careless style which Cicero, whether purposely or not, adopts for the venerable Cato.

8 1 **egit**: used in its technical sense of the delivery of an oration. Cf. Cic. *de Or.* 3, 214: *quae sic ab illo esse acta constabat*, etc.

8 2 **cum . . . interfuissent**: a circumstantial *cum* clause, almost equivalent to a participle; G. 585, R.

8 3 **consulatum**: his two consulships were in B.C. 307 and 296. It was very unusual for any but a consular to be made censor.

8 4 **tamen**: and yet calculation is useless, for tradition gives it thus (*sic*), i.e. that he was old when he made the speech.

8 6 **similesque sunt ut si qui . . . dicant**: two constructions, *eorum similes sunt qui dicant* and *ut si qui dicant*, are illogically combined, but **17** the thought is plain: 'it is as if one should say,' etc.

8 8 **foros**: 'the gangways,' part of the deck.

8 10 **facit**: the subject is *senectus* (see above, l. 6), or *senex* inferred from it.

8 13 **consilio**: 'advice.' — **auctoritate**: 'influence.' — **sententia**: 'official opinion' (in the senate). — **quibus**: with *orbari* as abl. of separation, with *augeri* as abl. of specification.

8 14 **Nisi forte**: (as *nisi vero*) always ironical. **18**

8 15 **miles**, etc.: the regular grades of military service. The *legatus* was often a man of consular rank.

8 18 **praescribo**: i.e. in virtue of his personal influence. — **Karthagini**: this was hardly a ground for boasting. With his characteristic narrowness of spirit and selfish patriotism, Cato could not bear to see the

brilliant commercial prosperity which Carthage continued to enjoy, even after being humbled in the Second Punic War. He determined that it should be not only humbled but destroyed, and for several years ended every speech with the assertion that Carthage ought to be destroyed: *delendam esse Karthaginem . . . pronuntiabat.* Flor. 1, 31, 4. Plutarch (*Cato* 27) gives his habitual words as *Δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ* Καρχηδόνα *μὴ εἶναι.*

8 19 **denuntio**: 'declare'; to 'denounce' (= declare) *war* is found in archaic English, where the word is also used in the more general sense of 'threaten.' Cf. Milton, *P. L.* 9, 695:

> Rather your deathless virtue, whom the pain
> Of death *denounced*, whatever thing death be,
> Deterred not from achieving what might lead
> To happier life.

19 **8** 21 **Quam palmam**: four years after the date of this dialogue Scipio captured and destroyed Carthage.

8 22 **avi reliquias**: 'what your grandfather left unfinished.' This eulogy of the elder Scipio is quite unnatural on the part of Cato, who, when quaestor under him, had conceived a hearty disapproval of him, which lasted the rest of his life. See Plutarch, *Cato.*

8 23 **sextus . . . et tricesimus**: this would give us B.C. 185, the date implied by Livy, 39, 52, 1. The date of the death of the elder Africanus is however given by Polybius (24, 8, 9) as B.C. 183, the same year as that of Hannibal and Philopoemen, and this is the date usually accepted.

8 24 **excipient**: lit. 'take up,' one from another. — **ante me censorem**: Cato's censorship was B.C. 184, his consulship 195; the interval here given, *novem annis*, expresses the number of full years intervening. Scipio's second consulship was B.C. 194.

8 26 **creatus esset**: see note on 16, p. 8, l. 2, *cum interfuissent.*

8 28 **paeniteret**: the tense implies the thought 'and were living now' in *vixisset.* — **Nec**: notice the connectives: three divisions with *nec*, one having a subordinate with *aut*, then three without connectives.

8 30 **consilio, ratione, sententia**: 'advice, judgment, official opinion.'

20 **9** 1 **senatum**: in its primary sense, a 'body of elders,' *senes.* — **quidem**: 'in fact.' The Spartan senate (*γερουσία*) consisted of twenty-eight men over sixty, and two kings. The small number enables Cicero to call this a *magistratus*, which term he could not apply to the Roman senate.

9 6 **Cĕdo**: 'come!' or 'tell us!' From *do*, an old imperative of *dare*, and the demonstrative particle *ce* 'here,' 'hither.'

9 7 **Ludo**: the meaning is doubtful. It may be 'the Lydian,' as *The Etruscan* (the Etruscans traditionally traced their origin to Lydia), in which case the play was a *praetexta*. See Index of Persons — *Naevius*.

9 9 **Proveniebant**: an agricultural word. A crop of them were springing up. — **stulti adulescentuli**: an instance of similar disaster from a similar cause is given in 1 Kings 12, 8, where King Rehoboam "forsook the counsel of the old men which they had given him, and took counsel with the young men that were grown up with him."

9 12 **At memoria**: objection; i.e. memory is lost, which is needed for **21**
active business. — **nisi . . . exerceas**: general condition; see note on 9, p. 4, l. 27, *vixeris*.

9 13 **Themistocles**, etc.: Themistocles' memory is said to have been so good that it was a burden to him, and he wished he might learn to forget. Cf. Cic. *Ac. Pr.* 2, 2: *qui quidem etiam pollicenti cuidam se artem ei memoriae, quae tum primum proferebatur, traditurum, respondisse dicitur* '*oblivisci se malle discere*,' *credo, quod haerebant in memoria quaecumque et audierat et viderat.*

9 15 **qui Aristides esset** = the accusative *Aristidem* (which would be ambiguous): 'that he ever saluted Aristides as Lysimachus.'

9 16 **Equidem**: 'for my part.'

9 18 **sepulcra legens**: Cato was writing his history, the *Origines*. — **quod aiunt**: 'as they say.' This expression points to a proverb. The same whim has prevailed in modern times.

9 22 **vadimonia constituta**: 'recognizances given,' hence 'acting as bail,' a very common occurrence with men of property, for in all personal actions the defendant gave bail to appear.

9 23 **Quid**: an ellipsis of *tibi videntur*, *faciunt*, or *agunt* is commonly, **22**
but probably without necessity, assumed here. *Quid* often appears to be used quite independently, merely to effect a rhetorical transition, like *age*. It may be translated 'how is it with?' Cf. 26, p. 11, l. 15. — **iuris consulti**: these were persons who made jurisprudence a study, and whose formally expressed opinions had much the same weight that judicial decisions have at the present day (see Maine's *Ancient Law*, ch. 2, p. 42). They were consulted by private persons to ascertain and secure their rights, by advocates, jurors (*iudices*), and even by the praetors, who, though their duties were judicial, were themselves rarely lawyers, but politicians in the regular career of office. Until the Empire, jurists' decisions had no binding force, but only a moral influence. Augustus gave to some jurists the *ius respondendi*, the right to interpret the law with binding force; see Hadley, *Introduction to Roman Law*, pp. 61 and 65. See also Muirhead,

Roman Law, p. 310. By the side of the jurists who had authority in questions of civil law are mentioned the pontifices and augurs, who had the superintendence of what we may call ecclesiastical law (for the *ius augurium*, see note on 12, p. 6, l. 6). The *ius pontificium*, exercised by the college of pontifices, had authority in the entire field of religious institutions, except so far as foreign rites were under the superintendence of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, who had charge of the Sibylline Books. The Pontifex Maximus was therefore the head of the ecclesiastical institutions of Rome; this office was conferred upon Augustus, as a regular part of the functions of the Emperor, who by this act became head of Church as well as of State. This combination of supreme civil and ecclesiastical powers continued until the Christian emperors.

9 24 **senes**: predicate.

9 25 **ingenia**: 'powers of mind,' including memory and others necessary to active life.

9 26 **honoratis**: men who have held or are holding office (*honores*); 'men in public life.'

9 29 **rem familiarem**: 'property.'

10 1 **patribus**: dat. after *interdici* used impersonally. — **bonis**: abl. of separation; i.e. from the control of their property.

10 2 **removerent**: purpose of *vocatus est.*

10 3 **in manibus**: i.e. not yet publicly exhibited; he was still at work upon it. For a different meaning of *in manibus* cf. 12, p. 6, l. 1.

10 4 **proxime**: 'last,' and so a proof that he had not lost his powers. This play contains the celebrated chorus in praise of the moral beauty of the neighborhood of Athens. Nothing could have better won the good opinion of his judges. — **Colonēum**: a transliteration of the Greek adjective Κωλωνεῖος. The regular form for the Latin adjective would be *Coloniensis*.

23 **10** 6 **Num igitur,** etc.: all the names that follow are those of men who continued their intellectual pursuits when very old. They are grouped according to the different branches of the *divina studia* — poetry, rhetoric, philosophy. Of the philosophers named, two are pre-Socratic, two Academic, three Stoic. (See Table of Greek Philosophers, p. 81.)

10 13 **studiorum agitatio**: 'the pursuit of letters.'

24 **10** 14 **possum nominare**: 'I could name.' The Latin regularly uses the indicative in expressions of this sort; § 522, *a*; B. 271; G. 254, R. 1; H. 525, 1.

10 15 **ex agro Sabino**: in the central mountain region of Italy where Cato was born and where he had an estate.

10 16 **numquam fere**: 'hardly ever.'

10 17 **serendis,** etc.: abl. of respect.

10 18 **condendis**: i.e. curing and storing.

10 22 **Serit arbores**: quoted again by Cicero in *Tusc.* 1, 31. Vergil expresses the same sentiment, *Ecl.* 9, 50:

Insere, Daphni, piros; carpent tua poma nepotes;

and Emerson, "Essay on Manners": "Even the line of heroes is not extinct. There is still ever ... some friend of Poland; some Philhellene; some fanatic who plants shade trees for the second and third generation, and orchards when he is grown old"; and of these "fanatics" was Tennyson, who planted a pine in Aldworth garden the day that he was eighty (*Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 359). For the meter, bacchiac tetrameter, see § 628, *b*; G. 812; H. 721, 2, N. 1.

10 23 **Statius**: Caecilius Statius. See Index of Persons. — **Nec** **25**
vero, etc.: 'and in fact the farmer never hesitates.'

10 27 **melius**: i.e. in the preceding. Supply *dicit.* The three quotations from Caecilius form an anticlimax so far as Cato's approval of them is concerned.

10 28 **illud**: 'the following'; the usual meaning of *illud* in introducing quotations. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 107: *illud vero perquam inane:*

neque sepulcrum quo recipiat, habeat portum corporis, etc.

10 29 **nil quicquam**: this combination belongs to early and late Latin. Cf. Terence, *Phorm.* 80:

noster mali nil quicquam primo.

10 31 **videt**: the subject is indefinite; 'one sees.'

11 2 **Illud vero . . . vitiosius**: 'and this still worse.'

11 5 **eumpse**: old acc. of *ipse* (*is-pse*). — **alteri**: supply *aetati* from the preceding *aetate.* The discussion of the relations between these two periods of life, old age and youth, is continued in the following passage.

11 9 **coluntur et diliguntur**: the former implies outward marks of **26**
respect, the latter the feeling. — **adulescentes . . . gaudent**: perhaps a delicate compliment to Atticus is here intended. The intimate friendship between him, an old man, and the young Brutus is alluded to by Nepos, *Att.* 8: *sic M. Bruto usus est, ut nullo ille adulescens aequali familiarius quam hoc sene.*

11 12 **ut . . . sit**: indir. question.

11 13 **agens . . . et moliens**: these words are often coupled. *Agere* is the more general word. *Moliri* implies productive activity.

11 14 **cuiusque**: referring to the *senes* implied in the abstract *senectus* above.

11 15 **Quid**: 'how is it with?' see note on 22, p. 9, l. 23. — **addiscunt**: 'learn something new.' He has spoken of those who continue in old age the pursuits they carried on when young, *tale scilicet*, etc., but some even go so far as to begin new pursuits.

11 17 **et ego feci** = *et ut ego feci.*

11 18 **litteras Graecas**: 'Greek literature'; cf. Cic. *Ac. Pr.* 2, 5: *cum Graecas litteras M. Catonem in senectute didicisse acceperim.* See note on 3, p. 2, l. 12. — **sic avide**: both these words modify *arripui*, and *sic* is explained by *quasi*. Cf. 12, p. 6, l. 8, *ita . . . quasi.*

11 19 **ut . . . essent**: purpose clause — Cato's reason for reading Greek.

11 21 **Quod**: i.e. acquiring new knowledge in old age.

11 22 **vellem**: potential subjv. referring to the past, 'I should have wished,' etc. § 447, 1; 442, *b*; G. 258; H. 556. — **discebant**: the fact that Socrates learned to play the lyre in old age gave Cato the desire to do the same, while the ancient Romans themselves afforded precedents sufficient to justify him and save his self-respect. The clause *discebant . . . antiqui* seems like an after-thought on the part of Cicero, on realizing that Cato would hardly have taken Socrates as a model.

11 23 **fidibus**: abl. of means (sc. *canere*), but tr. 'learn the lyre.' — **certe**: i.e. if not in music, at any rate in literature.

27 **11** 24 **desidero**: 'feel the want of.'

11 25 **locus**: in its technical rhetorical sense *locus* may mean (1) an argument of a general nature, such as may be used in various specific cases (*locus communis*), or (2) the headings under which certain arguments are grouped; i.e. the *place* where they are to be found. Here it has the latter meaning, recalling the four general headings in the indictment against old age (15), among which diminution of strength was the second.

11 27 **Quod est . . . agere pro viribus**: i.e. use the strength you have, but proportion your activity to this strength, so as not to feel aggrieved, as Milo did, if you cannot carry this activity beyond a certain point.

11 28 **vox**: 'words.' — **contemptior**: more despicable.'

12 1 **At**: those athletes' muscles are strong, 'but these muscles of mine,' etc.

12 3 **nugator**: 'fool.'

12 4 **Nihil . . . tale**: supply some such verb as *dicebant.*

12 6 **iura . . . praescribebantur**: 'laws were interpreted.' See note on 22, p. 9, l. 23, *iuris consulti.*

12 7 **prudentia**: the knowledge of right living which made the attitude of the men just mentioned different from that of Milo. Cicero, *de Fin.* 5, 16, calls *prudentia* the 'art of living.' See also note on 1, p. 1, l. 11.

12 8 **Orator**: emphatic; 'as to the orator,' etc. **28**

12 10 **Omnino**: concessive 'to be sure,' as in 45. For the affirmative meaning, see 9, p. 4, l. 25. — **canorum**: 'resonance.'

12 11 **nescio quo pacto** = *nescio quo modo*, 'somehow'; § 575, *d*; B. 253, 6; G. 467, 2, 1 and N.; H. 651, 2.

12 12 **Sed tamen**: i.e. although the sonorous quality of the voice is a good thing, *nevertheless* another style of speaking is also pleasing in the old man, namely the *quietus* and *remissus*. Cicero says of Crassus (*de Or.* 1, 255): *iam diu multo dicis remissius et lenius quam solebas; neque minus haec tamen tua gravissimi sermonis lenitas quam illa summa vis et contentio probatur.*

12 13 **sermo**: 'style'; the word may refer to private conversation as well as to public speaking. — **remissus**: 'unexcited.'

12 14 **composita**: 'calm.' See App. This manner of speech is approved by Seneca (*Ep.* 40, 2) for the philosopher and the old man: *philosopho, cuius pronuntiatio quoque, sicut vita, debet esse composita . . . itaque oratio illa apud Homerum concitata . . . oratori data est: lenis et melle dulcior seni profluit.* — **mitis**: 'gentle.' — **oratio**: 'oratory.'

12 15 **Quam**: commonly explained as referring to oratorical power in general, *oratio*. The whole expression *oratio composita ac mitis*, however, would be an appropriate antecedent. Cato's oratory was of the other type (cf. *canorum* above, l. 10, and *magna voce et bonis lateribus*, 14, p. 7, l. 6), and in using the indefinite *si nequeas* he may very possibly have himself in mind. Even if his own style is not the *composita ac mitis*, he can advise a Scipio and a Laelius to cultivate such a style. Of them in fact Cicero says (*de Or.* 1, 255): *ut illum Scipionem audimus et Laelium, qui omnia sermone conficerent paulo intentiore, numquam . . . lateribus aut clamore contenderent.*

12 18 **doceat**: 'teach,' in a general sense. — **instituat**: 'train.' **29**

12 19 **omne . . . munus**: 'the performance of every duty'; *officium* and *munus* are here, however, practically synonymous. — **instruat**: 'equip,' with the necessary powers, information, etc.

12 23 **bonarum artium**: 'liberal arts.'

12 24 **quamvis**: 'however much.'

12 28 **Cyrus**: in Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*, 8, 7, 6. — **quidem**: 'for **30**
instance.'

13 3 **esse**: see § 584, *a*, N.; G. 281, 2, N.; H. 618, 2. — **extremo**: at the time of his first consulship he must have been at least forty-three.

13 5 **mihi**: the dative for the accusative (with *necesse est*) emphasizes the person.

13 6 **quidem**: 'to be sure.'

31 **13** 7 **Videtisne**: 'don't you see?'; § 332, *c*; B. 162, 2, *c*.

13 8 **praedicet**: from *praedĭco, -are* — 'talks at large.' Nestor is ingeniously introduced as an excuse for garrulity and an honorable example of old age, as Ajax is of brute strength and the vigor of youth. See Index of Persons. — **aetatem**: 'generation.'

13 11 **ex eius lingua**: from *Il.* 2, 371. Nestor's speech illustrates the *quietus* and *remissus* style described in 28.

32 **13** 17 **vellem**: see note on 26, p. 11, l. 22. — **idem**: cognate acc.

13 22 **M'. Glabrione**: Cato would have a personal motive for dwelling on this, as he himself was of great service to Glabrio on this occasion. See Index of Persons. — **sed tamen . . . non . . . me enervavit**: we should expect here an acc. and inf. in apposition with *hoc*, like *me . . . esse* above. But Cicero, while stating parenthetically what he cannot say, seems to have forgotten with what construction he started, and takes up the thread again with a sentence grammatically independent of the rest.

13 23 **enervavit**: 'unstrung,' lit. 'taken out the sinews.' *Nervus* = a 'sinew' and also a 'bowstring.'

13 25 **hospites**: 'friends from abroad.' "The *hospitium* was a relation between individuals of different cities or states, at a time when there were no international relations; it included the duties of hospitality and protection, was transmitted from father to son, and was vouched for by a ticket (*tessera*)." Allen and Greenough on *pro Rosc. Am.* 5. — **Nec enim**: 'for (let me tell you) I never.'

13 26 **laudato**: 'much-praised.' — **fieri**: Cato takes the proverb to mean 'lead the quiet life of an old man.' Probably it really means 'avoid the follies of youth.'

13 29 **convenire**: 'interview.' — **occupatus**: 'engaged,' or 'not at home.'

33 **13** 31 **Ne vos quidem**: 'nor you either' (young as you are). — **T. Ponti**: see Index of Persons. Cicero describes the general characteristics of the Roman centurion, *Phil.* 8, 9, 26: *centuriones pugnaces et lacertosos.*

14 1 **Moderatio**: see note on 1, p. 1, l. 9. For the thought cf. 27, where the same ideas are expressed in the opposite order: *quod est,*

eo decet uti corresponding to *tantum quantum potest*, and *quicquid agas*, *agere pro viribus* to *moderatio modo adsit.* The emphatic points are 'do not fail to use the strength you have' and 'do not try nor wish to go beyond what you have.'

14 2 **ne**: the asseverative particle, 'assuredly.'

14 3 **non . . . tenebitur**: 'will not be overmastered,' as, for example, Milo was (see 27).

14 5 **bovem**: the story is told of Milo that by lifting a calf every day he was able to lift it when it was full grown. — **Pythagorae**: brought into connection with Milo as head of the school in which he was a disciple (see Index of Persons). Once, it was said, while Pythagoras was discoursing, the roof gave way and would have fallen but for the single strength of Milo.

14 7 **dum adsit; cum absit**: § 593; B. 324, 1; G. 663; H. 652.

14 10 **simplex**: 'unvarying,' 'always the same,' as in Verg. *Georg.* 3, 482: *nec via mortis erat simplex*.

14 11 **tempestivitas**: 'timeliness.'

14 12 **ferocitas**: 'fierce energy.' — **constantis**: 'well-settled'; cf. 76: *constans aetas quae media dicitur*.

14 13 **naturale quiddam**: 'something belonging to it by nature.'

14 14 **percipi**: 'gathered,' 'harvested.' The figure is perhaps suggested by *maturitas*.

14 15 **Masinissa**: a valuable friend and ally of the elder Africanus in **34**
the war against Hannibal in Africa; grandfather of Jugurtha. See Index of Persons.

14 20 **siccitatem**: 'toughness'; lit. 'freedom from humors,' the supposed source of disease. — **officia**: 'required duties.'

14 21 **munera**: 'functions' — privileges as well as duties. — **Potest**: (emphatic position) 'can,' though often they do not.

14 23 **Ne sint,** etc.: see App. Having shown that strength and vigor do sometimes exist in old age, Cato goes on to show that even without them old age can be useful and happy. For construction see § 440; B. 308; G. 608; H. 586, II, 3.

14 24 **senectute**: not abl. of agent.

14 26 **non modo** = *non modo non*. The omission of the second *non* is regular when *ne . . . quidem* follows *non modo* and both are connected with the same verb (here *cogimur*); § 217, *e*; B. 343, 2, *a*; G. 482, R. 1; H. 656, 3. — **quod**: cognate acc.

14 28 **omnino**: 'at all,' nearly as in 9, p. 4, l. 25. **35**

14 31 **is**: emphatic, to distinguish this Africanus from the rest.

15 2 **ni ita fuisset**: Cicero has in mind perhaps the still extant epitaph of this "mute inglorious" Scipio:

. . . .
mors perfecit tua ut essent omnia brevia,
honos, fama, virtusque, gloria atque ingenium:
quibus sei in longa licuiset tibe utier vita,
facile facteis superases gloriam maiorum, etc.

— **illud**: referring to Africanus, but attracted to the neuter gender by *lumen* which is predicate to it.

15 8 **pugnandum**: Cicero elsewhere, as well as here, is decided in his advocacy of activity in old age. Cf. *de Off.* 1, 123: *nihil autem magis cavendum est senectuti quam ne languori se desidiaeque dedat.*

36 **15** 9 **habenda ratio**: 'regard must be had,' lit. 'account must be taken,' a business term.

15 10 **tantum**: (only) 'so much.'

15 13 **tamquam**: 'as it were.'

15 14 **corpora**: translate by the singular with the definite article, according to the English idiom in such generalizations. — **quidem**: 'it is true.'

15 16 **ait** = *dicit.* — **quos ait . . . hos significat credulos,** etc.: the verb is used with two accusatives like verbs of naming. 'For by those whom he speaks of as the foolish old men of comedy, Caecilius means the credulous, the forgetful, and the careless.' To circumvent the old man was the chief aim of the young man and the slave in Roman comedy.

15 19 **petulantia**: 'wantonness.'

15 21 **non proborum**: stronger than *improborum.*

15 22 **deliratio**: 'dotage.' Originally a figure from plowing. *Deliro* means literally to go out of the furrow (*lira* = 'ridge'); figuratively, then, it means to leave the straight path of sense. Cf. the somewhat similar figure in the lines quoted from Ennius in 16. — **levium**: 'frivolous.'

37 **15** 23 **robustos**: 'grown up'; i.e. with the strength, *robur*, of manhood.

15 24 **regebat**: used appropriately of the absolute power (*patria potestas*) exercised over his family by the Roman father in early times. So long as his father lived, no Roman could be legally independent, unless emancipated by his father.

15 27 **auctoritatem**: moral authority (such as exists nowadays). — **imperium**: power of command, including power of life and death (implied in the *patria potestas*); see note on 64, p. 27, l. 17.

15 28 **metuebant servi,** etc.: note the emphatic position of the verbs.

15 30 **Ita . . . si**: 'only on condition . . . that.' — **se ipsa defendit**: 'is 38
its own defense.'

15 31 **nemini mancipata**: 'in no man's power,' lit. 'sold' (like a slave) 'to no one' (*manus* + *capio*). *Emancipare* is the usual word for this in Cicero. See App. *Mancipatio* was the formal process of transferring property, a part of which was the laying of the hand upon the object bought.

16 5 **Septimus mihi liber Originum**: see Intr., p. xiv. — **est in manibus**: 'I am at work upon.' For the same meaning, cf. 22, p. 10, l. 3.

16 6 **monumenta**: 'records.'

16 7 **nunc cum maxime conficio**: 'just at this very time I am putting together.' The speeches were carefully worked over by the orators for publication, as Cicero's were, — often so as to be quite different from the real ones, as in the case of the speech for Milo.

16 8 **ius . . . civile**: the secular law as distinguished from the rules governing religious ceremonials used by the augurs and the pontiffs.

16 9 **Graecis litteris**: see note on 26, p. 11, l. 18. This fact is emphasized as in contrast to his work on the *Origines*, which was the first Roman history written in Latin prose. All preceding Roman prose writers had used Greek. — **Pythagoreorumque modo**: self-examination was part of the discipline of the Pythagoreans. But Cicero is alone in assigning the training of the memory as their reason for it.

16 10 **exercendae memoriae**: the necessity of this has already been emphasized in 21.

16 11 **exercitationes ingeni**: perhaps recalling the complaint of Milo (27), himself a Pythagorean, that he could no longer engage in the *exercitationes* of athletics, for which those of the *ingenium* may be considered a substitute.

16 14 **Adsum**: i.e. attend in the courts — a regular duty of Roman citizens. — **ultroque adfero**: i.e. not merely attend to the necessary business of the hour. Though no senator, strictly, could introduce a measure of his own motion, yet when called upon to vote he could speak on any point, whether "in order" or not, as did Cato (*delenda est Karthago*).

16 17 **lectulus**: a reading-couch, corresponding in function to the modern easy-chair.

16 18 **acta vita**: 'my past life.'

16 19 **viventi**: depending grammatically on *obrepat*, but belonging also to *intellegitur*.

16 23 **quod . . . dicunt**: in apposition with *tertia vituperatio*. 39

16 25 **aetatis**: 'age,' standing here, as in English, for *old age*. Rarely, as in 45, it may mean *youth*. See note on 2, p. 2, l. 2. — **si quidem**: 'if really,' nearly equivalent to 'since.'

16 27 **orationem**: 'discourse.'

16 28 **tradita**: 'reported.'

16 30 **capitaliorem**: involving the head (*caput*), therefore the life, 'deadly.'

17 1 **ecfrenate**: from *ex* and *frenum*, 'bridle.'

40 **17** 2 **Hinc**: *a corporis voluptate*. Reid refers in explanation of this passage to Lecky, *History of European Morals*, vol. II, p. 211, N.: "vice predisposes men to unpatriotic acts whereby the supremacy of the State, the most cherished ideal of the Romans, would be impaired." It may well be that Cicero here has in mind the concrete case of the conspiracy of Catiline. The character of Catiline and his followers he has painted (*in Cat.* 2, 5, 10), as that of corrupt pleasure-seekers, while the dealings with the Allobroges (*in Cat.* 3, 2, 4 ff.), were an example of *cum hostibus clandestina colloquia*. — **proditiones**: 'acts of treason' (a common Latin use of the plural).

17 4 **scelus**: a more abstract term than *facinus*. — **facinus**: in Cicero's time *facinus* appears to have been used mostly in a bad sense, but this was not so originally, and hence it is here qualified with *malum*.

17 6 **stupra vero**: 'and as to debaucheries,' etc.

17 7 **excitari**: 'stirred up.'

17 8 **sive natura sive quis deus**: (cf. Cic. *Ac. Pr.* 2, 61) to the Stoics the popular gods merely symbolized different manifestations of one divine power immanent in and guiding the universe; to the Epicureans they were beings careless of man's affairs and of the world, while Nature was the active power at work in the universe. By the philosophers of the New Academy, all assertion was based on probability, and conclusions were reduced to a *sive . . . sive*.

17 9 **muneri**: 'function' (if given by Nature). — **dono**: 'gift' (if bestowed by divine power).

41 **17** 13 **fingere animo**: 'imagine.' — **iubebat . . . censebat**: observe the partial return to the direct narrative.

17 14 **percipi**: (reaped) 'experienced,' cf. 33, p. 14, l. 14.

17 16 **nihil agitare**: 'pursue no subject.' — **nihil . . . consequi**: 'establish nothing by argument or reflection.'

17 17 **Quocirca**: resumes as a conclusion the first statement, *nullam* (*esse*) etc., in the indirect form, whence the subjunctives *esset*, *exstingueret*.

17 18 **si quidem**: 'since,' a common meaning; § 39; G. 595, R. 5; H. 316, 7.

17 19 **longior**: except with words denoting time, *longus* (protracted) is rare in the Ciceronian period, and apparently not used by Cicero elsewhere.

17 20 **Haec**: 'thus my host Nearchus used to say (that) he had heard that Archytas discoursed with Pontius.'

17 24 **cum quidem . . . interfuisset**: the *cum* clause is purely circumstantial; see note on 16, p. 8, l. 2, *cum interfuissent.*

17 26 **L. Camillo**: this was B.C. 349, the year before Plato's death. Plato's latest authentic visit to Sicily (his third) was B.C. 361. It is probable therefore that Cicero is wrong here.

17 27 **intellegeretis,** etc.: imperfect, as following an implied past tense. **42**

18 2 **Invitus feci ut . . . eicerem**: 'it was with reluctance that I expelled'; § 568; B. 284, 1; G. 553, 1; H. 571, 3. — **T. Flaminini**: see note on 1, p. 1, l. 1, and Index of Persons. T. Flamininus' brother Lucius was consul B.C. 192. During his consulship he carried on war successfully in Cisalpine Gaul, at which time occurred the incident here related.

18 3 **septem annis**: this was the full number of years intervening between the consulship of L. Flamininus (B.C. 192) and the censorship of Cato and L. Flaccus, B.C. 184. The censorship of T. Flamininus and M. Marcellus was B.C. 189. The story is an illustration of the preceding sentence, but the old man's loquacity destroys the logical connection.

18 4 **fuisset**: subj. as following *eicerem*. See note on 33, p. 14, l. 7, *dum adsit.* — **notandam**: the technical word for the formal mark of disapprobation, *nota censoria*, officially passed upon a man by the censor.

18 5 **exoratus . . . est**: 'was prevailed upon'; see Liv. 39, 43; Plut. *Flamininus*, 18.

18 11 **imperi**: the supreme official power conferred upon him by the *comitia curiata* (see note on 64, p. 27, l. 17). To disgrace the *imperium* was to disgrace the state.

18 15 **quendam**: Epicurus (see Index of Persons), whom Cicero never **43**
loses an opportunity of attacking, and to whom the Stoics were especially opposed. Cicero (*de Fin.* 2, 7) refers to Epicurus' claim to the title of *sapiens* as a mark of arrogance: *qui se unus, quod sciam, sapientem profiteri sit ausus.*

18 18 **ut id . . . persuaderetur**: 'that the Samnites . . . might be persuaded of this.'

18 19 **Samnitibus**: the Samnites were a vigorous and powerful nation of central Italy, the last and most persistent defenders of Italian

independence against Rome. The Third Samnite War ended with their overthrow, B.C. 290.

18 20 **Vixerat . . . cum**: *vivere cum* = 'to live on intimate terms with,' not necessarily 'in the same house with,' which would be *habitare cum* (*apud*).

18 21 **Curius**: the eldest of the three statesmen here mentioned (cos. B.C. 290); had personal intercourse (*vixerat*) with Decius, while Fabricius and Coruncanius were only acquaintances (*norat*).

18 22 **devoverat**: when Decius saw that the battle (Sentinum, Third Samnite War) was going hard with his men, he devoted himself to the gods by a solemn act of consecration, rushed into the thickest of the enemy and perished. See Index of Persons. Livy (10, 28, 12 ff.) tells the story of this *devotio*. Decius called upon the name of his father, who had devoted himself on a similar occasion, exclaiming: *quid ultra moror . . . familiare fatum? datum hoc nostro generi est, ut luendis periculis publicis piacula simus; iam ego mecum hostium legiones mactandas telluri ac dis manibus dabo*: 'why do I delay the fate that belongs to my family? It is the destiny of my race to serve as expiatory offerings for the safety of the state. Now will I offer to the earth, and the spirits of the dead, the legions of the enemy together with myself.'

44 **18** 31 **frequentibus poculis**: 'cups often filled.'

19 1 **cruditate**: 'indigestion.'

19 3 **escam malorum**: 'bait of evil,' a translation of Plato, *Tim.* 69 D, ἡδονήν, μέγιστον κακοῦ δέλεαρ.

19 5 **epulis . . . conviviis**: the first of these words implies the physical enjoyment of a banquet, the second the intellectual.

19 7 **Marci filium**: expressions of this sort were commonly abbreviated, only the initial letters being used—in this case, for instance, **M. f.**

19 10 **privatus**: i.e. in contrast with the recognized right of a magistrate.—**sumpserat**: this honor appears to have been granted by authority, not assumed by himself as the text would imply. Cf. Liv. *Epit.* 17: *Gaius Duellius consul . . . primus . . . omnium Romanorum ducum navalis victoriae duxit triumphum, ob quam causam ei perpetuus quoque honos habitus est, ut revertenti a cena, tibicine canente, funale praeferretur.*

45 **19** 12 **sodalis**: the worship of the several gods was cared for by guilds, *sodalitates*, each consisting of a number of guild-brethren, *sodales*. Whenever a new worship was introduced, a new guild was organized to take charge of it. The innovation in Cato's quaestorship, here spoken of, could not have been the establishment of the *sodalitas*, for this was an institution of great antiquity; it was probably the establishment of

new clubs. By the expression *habui semper sodalis* Cato probably means that he has kept up his membership and his attendance at the banquets.

19 13 **Magnae Matris**: i.e. Cybele, a goddess of nature, worshiped with wild rites on Mt. Ida and in other parts of Asia Minor. The Romans found in the Sibylline Books, during the war with Hannibal, a prophecy that a foreign enemy would be expelled from Italy when the Idaean mother should come from Pessinus to Rome. An embassy was accordingly sent to King Attalus of Pergamus, who actually gave into their possession the meteoric stone which was the fetish of this worship. The oracle prescribed that it should be received by the man *qui vir optimus Romae esset*, and the Senate fixed upon the young Publius Scipio Nasica, son of Gnaeus (see 29, p. 12, l. 20). From this time the worship of the Great Mother was one of the most popular of the religions of Rome; it was celebrated in the *Megalesia*, April 4–10, with processions, beating of drums, and dramatic exhibitions. It was at this festival, in the years between 166 and 161 B.C., that four of Terence's plays were first produced, the *Andria*, *Hecyra*, *Heauton Timorumenos*, and *Eunuchus*.

19 14 **omnino**: 'to be sure' (opposed to the exceptions following).

19 15 **qua progrediente**: the antecedent of *qua* is *aetatis*, with its meaning shifted from 'period of life' to 'life.' — **omnia**: 'all the feelings.' *Omnia* is often used in a very general sense, and must be translated not literally, but according to the context. Cf. Livy, 1, 29, 2: *omnia ferro flammaque miscet* = 'causes confusion everywhere, with fire and sword.'

19 16 **mitiora**: 'less intense.'—**ipsorum**: emphasizes *conviviorum*, as opposed to higher pleasures.

19 21 **compotationem**: *συμπόσιον*. — **concenationem**: *συνδεῖπνον*.

19 25 **tempestivis**: beginning earlier and continuing later than the **46**
usual hour.

19 26 **qui pauci**: the regular construction in Latin when the whole number is implied; § 346 *e*; G. 370, R. 2; H. 442, 2.

19 30 **ne . . . videar**: parenthetic, like *ut pollicear* in 6, p. 3, l. 16.

20 1 **sensu**: 'capacity for feeling.'

20 2 **Me**: i.e. for my part I like even formal drinking usages. — **magisteria**: the office of president or master of the feast (*magister*, *arbiter bibendi*), who regulated the banquet and promoted hilarity. — **a maioribus**: it was however a Greek custom.

20 3 **a summo**: the three tables of the *triclinium* ('dining-room'), formed three sides of a square and were known as *summus*, *medius*,

imus. Three guests, *summus*, *medius*, *imus*, reclined at each table. The conversation began *a summo*, that is at the extreme left, and was passed along from one to the other. The place of honor was the lowest at the middle table. — **adhibetur in poculo**: 'is carried on as the cup goes round.'

20 4 **Symposio**: 'the Banquet.' One of Xenophon's works in which Socrates is introduced.

20 5 **rorantia**: 'drunk by sips.' The whole expression *minuta atque rorantia* is a translation of Xenophon's own words: *μικραῖς κύλιξι . . . ἐπιψακάζωσιν*. — **refrigeratio . . . ignis hibernus**: as this whole passage deals with the banquet, it is probable that these expressions refer to the temperature of the dining-room. Wealthy Romans often had two dining-rooms, one for summer and one for winter use. Cf. Juv. 7, 183: *surgat et algentem rapiat cenatio solem.*

20 6 **ignis hibernus**: 'the winter fire.' — **in Sabinis**: 'on my Sabine estate.'

20 7 **compleo**: 'make up' (the conventional number for a banquet). The question of number was important at a Roman banquet, as the largest number that could be comfortably accommodated at a table was nine. According to Cicero's contemporary, Varro (see Aul. Gell. 13, 11, 2), the number should be "not less than the Graces nor more than the Muses." — **vicinorum**: depends on *convivium.*

47 **20** 10 **At,** etc.: the connection of thought is: all this may be true, but (it may be said), even if you, an old man, do find pleasure in feasting, the pleasure is less keen than it would be in youth. Cato himself admits this in the *credo* which follows, and also in the words *omnia fiunt in dies mitiora*, 45, p. 19, l. 15.

20 13 **adfecto aetate**: 'stricken in years.' — **utereturne,** etc.: 'enjoyed the pleasures of love.'

20 14 **Di meliora**: supply *duint*, the old form of *dent.* The expression is equivalent to 'God forbid.'

20 18 **non caret**: Cicero (*Tusc.* 1, 88) defines *carere* in the words *egere eo quod habere velis. Inest enim velle in carendo.*

20 19 **hoc non desiderare**: the infinitive is used substantively, with *hoc* in agreement. Cf. Cic. *de Fin.* 2, 18: *hoc non dolere.*

48 **20** 20 **bona aetas**: i.e. youth.

20 21 **ut diximus**: in the discussion on feasting and love, 44–47.

20 24 **prima . . . ultima**: front and back row. — **cavea**: the part of the theater occupied by the spectators, consisting of concentric rows of seats rising one above another, whence the name. The first complete

theater at Rome was not built, however, till three years after Cato's death, and no permanent theater was built till B.C. 55.

20 25 **propter**: 'near at hand'; the original adverbial use of the preposition.

20 28 **At**: opposed to the concession that age feels less enjoyment. **49**
—**illa**: 'the following.'—**emeritis stipendiis**: i.e. discharged from service. The required term of military service was sixteen years, after which the man, having served his campaigns (earned his pay), was exempt.

20 30 **secum esse**: Cicero explains this expression in *Tusc.* I, 75: *cum a negotio omni sevocamus animum, quid, inquam, tum agimus nisi animum ad se ipsum advocamus, secum esse cogimus?*

20 31 **ut dicitur**: this shows, like *quod aiunt* (21, p. 9, l. 18), that the foregoing expression is a common one. — **Si vero**: 'if again.'

21 1 **otiosa**: 'of retirement' (from public business).

21 2 **Videbamus**: 'we used to see.' — **dimetiendi paene**: 'almost measuring out the universe.'

21 4 **illum . . . oppressit**: 'he was overtaken by,' etc. — **describere**: 'draw.'

21 6 **defectiones**: according to tradition, eclipses had been predicted as early as the sixth century, by Thales of Miletus. There is an especial appropriateness in citing the achievements of Galus in this line, as Scipio's father, Aemilius Paulus, was victor in the battle of Pydna, previous to which Galus predicted the eclipse which occurred on its eve, and thereby prevented the Roman soldiers from falling into the same sort of panic which affected their enemies.

21 7 **levioribus**: 'more trivial.' To the Romans, literary pursuits were **50**
of trifling importance compared to the practical affairs of life. Tacitus (*Ag.* 4) says of the Roman general Agricola, in his youth, that if he had not been restrained he would have studied philosophy 'with more interest and enthusiasm than befitted a Roman and a senator.'

21 9 **Truculento**: first performed about forty years before the dramatic date of the Cato Maior (in B.C. 189). — **Pseudolo**: first performed B.C. 191.

21 10 **sex annis**: that the date is here emphasized, is probably due to the fact that there were two traditions as to the time of Livius' arrival at Rome, and Cicero wishes to emphasize the correct one (see G. L. Hendrickson, *A. J. P.* XIX, 291). He had already discussed the question at some length in the *Brutus* (72).

21 11 **fabulam docuisset**: 'brought out a play,' the regular word, from the author 'teaching' the actors. — **Centone Tuditanoque**: B.C. 240. The date is important as marking the beginning of Roman drama. Livius

Andronicus adapted from the Greek a tragedy and a comedy to be produced at the *Ludi Romani* of this year.

21 12 **processit aetate**: 'lived.'

21 14 **P. Scipionis**: not the young Scipio (Aemilianus) present, but his second cousin, P. Scipio Nasica Corculum (see Index of Persons, genealogical table of the Scipios). — **his paucis diebus**: 'a few days ago.'

21 16 **senes**: pred. noun. — **vero**: 'then again.' — **Cethegum**: Cethegus died B.C. 196.

21 17 **Suadae medullam**: quoted as from the ninth book of Ennius' *Annales* by Cicero, *Brut.* 58.

21 19 **ludorum**: this term may include all the spectacles of the Roman festival, dramatic performances as well as athletic contests and gladiatorial shows, and this is probably the sense in which Cicero uses it here, though doubtless he had the less intellectual parts of the festival particularly in mind. The *writing* of plays he has just counted among the legitimate if somewhat trivial (*leviora*) occupations of old age.

21 22 **pariter**: 'in even pace.' — **honestum**: 'an honor to him.'

21 23 **illud . . . quod ait**: 'that famous saying,' explained by *senescere se*, etc.

51 **21** 26 **Venio nunc,** etc.: having dealt with the pleasures of the senses and with the higher pleasures of the intellect, the writer next takes up those of a sort less generally appreciated, but particularly appropriate to the character of the old censor. Plutarch says that Cato in his old age engaged in farming for amusement. There is nothing, however, in the extant works of Cato to show that this pleasure in agriculture was more than that of earning an honest living, and such expressions as *incredibiliter delector*, *terrae . . . natura delectat*, probably have no foundation in fact. See the Introduction to his *de Agri Cultura*, quoted p. xvii.

21 29 **Habent . . . rationem**: (a mercantile phrase) 'deal' (lit. 'keep a debit-and-credit account').

21 30 **recusat imperium**: probably also mercantile, 'dishonor one's draft.'

22 1 **faenore**: this word is used in the same way by Columella, 10, 142: *ut redeant nobis cumulato faenore messes.* — **non fructus modo**: (referring to the preceding *faenore*) i.e., that is not all, but the growth is as pleasant as the profit.

22 2 **Quae . . . aristarum**: this whole passage is full of the technical terms of husbandry.

22 3 **subacto**: 'subdued' or 'well-tilled.'

22 4 **occaecatum**: 'hid' or 'imprisoned.' — **occatio**: really from *occa*, 'harrow' (the etymology is absurd).

22 5 **vapore**: 'moist heat.'

22 6 **diffundit**: 'swells.' — **herbescentem**: 'sprouting.'

22 7 **viriditatem**: 'green growth' (the blade).

22 8 **iam quasi pubescens**: 'as if already with the down of youth.'

22 9 **fundit frugem spici** (gen.; the usual form is *spica*, *spicae*): 'yields the grain in the ear.'

22 11 **vallo**: 'rampart.' The beard of the grain is compared to the palisades of an intrenchment. Cicero *N. D.* 2, 143 uses the same figure of the eyelashes: *munitaeque sunt palpebrae tamquam vallo pilorum*, and Lucretius (5, 27) of the hydra: *hydra venenatis . . . vallata colubris.* — **Quid ego**, etc.: with this and the following section contrast Cato's own **52**
chapters on vine culture, quoted pp. xvii and xviii. — **vitium**: 'vines,' as contrasted with the standing grain. — **ortus, satus, incrementa**: 'growth, planting, propagation.'

22 12 **Satiari**: 'get my fill.'

22 13 **ut . . . noscatis**: supply the principal clause from the context; § 532; B. 282, 4; G. 545, R. 3; H. 568, 4.

22 14 **vim ipsam**: 'the mere vital force' (power of growth) as opposed to cultivation.

22 15 **acini vinaceo**: 'grape-stone.' *Vinaceo* alone would have been sufficient, as it is used by Cato himself, *de Ag.* 7, 2, for the seed of the grape. *Acinus* may mean not only the grape but any sort of berry that grows in bunches, as ivy, elder, privet, etc.

22 18 **Malleoli**: 'shoots' cut from the last year's growth in such a way as to take also the adjoining wood projecting on each side in the shape of a hammer (*malleus*); *prominens utrimque, malleoli specimen praebet* (Col. 3, 6, 3). — **plantae**: 'suckers'; shoots growing up around the main stalk and connected with its base. — **sarmenta**: 'scions,' cut from the ends of the branches. — **viviradices**: 'quicksets,' taken with a bit of the root. — **propagines**: 'layers,' starting as a new plant while still connected under ground with the parent stock, or pegged down to take root further on.

22 19 **nonne efficiunt**: 'are they not enough to fill any one (however insensible) with delight and wonder?'

22 21 **fertur**: 'falls.' — **claviculis**: 'tendrils.'

22 22 **quam, serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico**: 'which, as it twines in manifold and devious curves.' *Lapsus* is used of the motion of the snake by Vergil (*A.* 2, 225):

At gemini lapsu delubra ad summa dracones
Effugiunt.

22 24 **silvescat sarmentis**: 'become a forest of shoots.' The growth of "new wood" (*sarmenta*) in one season from a single bud has sometimes amounted to more than a hundred feet, including ramifications.

22 25 **nimia**: if the vine is allowed to grow too luxuriantly, the strength goes into leaves instead of fruit.

53 **22** 26 **exsistit**: 'starts forth.' — **articulos**: this word in Cicero's time seems to have been used literally only of the joints of animals, hence *tamquam* to indicate that it is here used figuratively.

22 27 **gemma dicitur**: in reality 'bud,' an outgrowth, is the literal meaning of the word, and 'gem' the figurative. But Cicero (*de Or.* 3, 155), and Quintilian after him, believed the opposite to be true, and used *gemma* and *gemmare*, of buds, as examples of figurative use where no literal equivalent existed. Cf. Quint. 8, 6, 6: *necessitate rustici gemmam in vitibus* (*dicunt*), *quid enim dicerent aliud?*

22 31 **laetius**: used in an active sense, 'more gladdening.'

23 2 **ante**: see 51, p. 22, l. 1.

23 3 **capitum iugatio**: connecting of the tops of the 'stakes' or 'props' (*adminiculi*) for the vines to run on. — **religatio**: 'tying up.'

23 4 **propagatio**: 'training' or 'guiding forward' of the young shoots.

23 5 **inmissio**: 'sparing' to grow; or perhaps, 'training' of other shoots in the spaces left.

23 6 **repastinationes**: 'trenching.'

54 **23** 8 **de rebus rusticis**: the book is cited both as *de Re Rustica* and *de Agri Cultura.* It is tolerably well preserved.

23 9 **doctus**: like the Greek σοφός, 'skilled,' often used of poets. The reference is to Hesiod's *Works and Days.* — **ne verbum quidem**: probably because the rich plains of Boeotia needed no manuring.

23 11 **multis . . . ante saeculis**: these words are more than a mere digression, for they touch upon one of the unsettled literary questions of Cicero's time and earlier — the chronological relation of Homer to Hesiod. Accius, one of the most important critics before Cicero's time, put Hesiod first: *M. autem Varro, in primo de Imaginibus, uter prior sit natus parum constare dicit . . . Accius autem, in primo Didascalico, levibus admodum argumentis utitur per quae ostendi putat Hesiodum natu priorem* (Aul. Gell. 3, 11, 3). — **Laertam**: Laërtes, father of Ulysses (*Od.* 24, 225). The *desiderium* is for the long absence of his son at the siege of Troy, and during his subsequent wanderings. Homer does not represent him as *stercorantem*, but as digging (λιστρεύοντα), which in Cicero's mind might include the other.

23 12 **lenientem**: conative in force.

23 13 **segetibus**: 'grain fields.'

23 14 **pratis**: 'meadows' (for grazing). — **arbustis**: usually plantations of trees for the training of vines, such as may be seen at the present day in Italy; here perhaps 'olive groves' and the like. — **res rusticae**: 'rural life.'

23 15 **hortis**: 'kitchen gardens.'

23 16 **consitiones . . . insitiones**: the plural is used to indicate the various modes of planting and grafting.

23 19 **Possum persequi**: see note on 24, p. 10, l. 14. **55**

23 22 **provectus**: 'carried away.'

23 23 **ne . . . videar**: as in 46, p. 19, l. 30.

23 26 **ego**: expressed because *cuius* is emphatic. — **villam**: 'farm house.' Plutarch (*Cato* 5) tells us that Cato often walked thither, and reflecting on the simplicity of the estate of this great soldier, who, after having won three triumphs, was content to live in this small house, would go home and work with renewed energy, and live with even greater economy than before.

23 28 **continentiam**: 'self-control.' — **disciplinam**: assigning the merit to the training of those times.

23 30 **non . . . dixit**: Plutarch (l. c.) adds another reason given by Curius for refusing the money of the Samnites. He was boiling turnips when they came to him, and to their offer he answered "A man who can be content with a supper of this sort, does not need gold."

24 3 **Sed venio**: what has just been said has no relation to farming **56**
as a *profession*. — **In agris erant**: 'lived in the country.'

24 4 **aranti**: (emphatic position) 'it was while plowing,' etc. The incident was in his first consulship, 458 B.C. See Index of Persons.

24 6 **magister equitum**: assistant to the dictator, and his representative in his absence.

24 8 **occupatum interemit**: translate the participle as a finite active verb. — **arcessebatur**: this tense implies the practice in old times.

24 10 **viatores**: the messengers sent to summon these men to the city must travel some miles on the *viae*, broad country roads (Via Appia etc.), to reach the villas.

24 11 **agri cultione**: a variant for *agri cultura*.

24 13 **officio**: 'service' (to mankind); explained by *quod . . . salutaris*.

24 14 **delectatione**: 'pleasure' (to the individual concerned).

24 15 **saturitate copiaque**, etc.: referring to the material benefits to be derived from agriculture. Cato was a practical farmer.

24 16 **cultum . . . deorum**: the first fruits of the season were offered to the gods as described by Tibullus (1, 1, 13) in his eulogy of country life:

Et quodcumque mihi donum novus educat annus,
Libatum agricolae ponitur ante deo.

24 17 **in gratiam . . . redeamus**: 'be reconciled with.' A concession to offset the extreme stand taken against pleasure before (39–42).

24 19 **cella**: the general word for 'store-room.' As wine was in common use, and oil took the place of butter, the *cella vinaria* and the *cella olearia* were of special importance, while the *cella penaria* was the general store-room for other sorts of provisions.

24 22 **Conditiora**: fowling and hunting give a spice to these regular and necessary occupations. Preserve the emphasis by using the passive: 'these are made more palatable by,' etc.

24 23 **aucupium**: from *avis* and *capio*.

57 **24** 25 **specie**: 'sightliness.'

24 30 **melius**: than in the country. — **aut**: this indicates the mutual exclusion of the two clauses it connects, while *vel, ve*, within the clauses, connect actions at least compatible with each other. — **aquis**: probably streams are meant. — **refrigerari**: 'refresh itself.'

58 **24** 31 **habeant . . . relinquant**: observe the chiastic arrangement.

25 1 **clavam**: 'single-stick,' 'foil.' — **pilam**: 'ball.' References to games of ball are common in ancient literature from the Odyssey down. Among the Romans *trigon* seems to have been the favorite. This was played by three persons, standing at the apices of an equilateral triangle, and throwing the ball from one to another. No bat was used.

25 2 **talos**: a kind of dice or knuckle-bones, rounded on two sides, flat and marked on the other four. Four at a time were used. Another kind, unmarked, were tossed in the air and caught on the back of the hand, just as boys do now. Of these five were used.

25 3 **tesseras**: 'dice'; inscribed with numbers on all six sides. Three at a time were used. — **id ipsum**: 'and that too.' — **utrum** (= **utrumcumque**) **lubebit**: 'as (whichever) they like.'

59 **25** 5 **Xenophontis libri**: three small treatises on husbandry, horsemanship, and hunting (with hounds).

25 8 **Oeconomicus**: including husbandry or the general management of an estate.

25 11 **regem**: 'prince,' belonging to the royal family. Cyrus was never king, but was killed in the attempt to get the kingdom away from his brother.

25 14 **Sardis**: acc. plur.; lit. 'to him, to Sardis,' according to the Latin idiom.

25 16 **consaeptum agrum**: 'park.' Cicero's translation of Xenophon's *παράδεισος*.

25 17 **proceritates arborum** = *proceras arbores*.

25 18 **quincuncem**: the rows so disposed that every combination of three trees forms the letter V:

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. . . . . .
 . . . . .
. . . . . .
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25 19 **puram**: 'clean' (of weeds or rubbish).

25 23 **ista**: 'those you speak of,' the demonstrative of the second person.

25 26 **purpuram**: i.e. his purple garment, as we say "the purple." — **nitorem corporis**: 'the spruceness of his person.' — **ornatum**: 'dress,' usually of an elegant sort.

25 27 **multo auro multisque gemmis**: abl. of quality.

25 28 **virtuti tuae**: (emphatic) 'your own merit.' — **fortuna**: the second thing necessary for happiness, fortunate circumstances, in addition to natural qualities (*virtuti tuae*). Cf. 8.

25 30 **Hac igitur**: emphatic: 'this sort of fortune, then, old men can **60** enjoy.'

26 3 **perduxisse**: i.e. *agri colendi studia*. — **cum esset**: see note on 16, p. 8, l. 2, *cum interfuisset*.

26 6 **quantum spatium**: i.e. forty-five years, the period from a man's birth to the beginning of the *aetas seniorum*, which is here, as often, reckoned as part of *senectus*. Liability to military service ended at the beginning of this period.

26 7 **cursus honorum**: the regular series of offices leading to and including the consulship; i.e. quaestorship, curule aedileship, praetorship, consulship.

26 9 **Apex**: literally the wooden rod bound with wool, on the top of the flamen's cap; see Serv. *ad Aen*. 2, 683. An English equivalent for the word figuratively used would be 'crown' or 'crowning glory.' — **autem**: 'now.'

26 11 **elogium**: 'epitaph.' **61**

26 12 **gentes**: technically the Roman families, at first exclusively patricians; here used for the Roman people in general. — **populi**: modifying *primarium virum*.

26 14 **sepulcro**: the great highways leading out of Rome were lined with tombs. Calatinus' tomb was on the Via Appia, and near it on the same road stood the tomb of the Scipio family (see Cic. *Tusc*. 1, 13),

which still exists, though it is within the present city walls. The opening lines of Calatinus' epitaph are much like those of the epitaph of Lucius Scipio (the adoptive great-great-grandfather of Scipio Aemilianus), which begins (modernized):

Hunc unum plurimi consentiunt Romani
Bonorum optimum fuisse virum virorum.

The two men, moreover, were consuls in successive years, Lucius Scipio in B.C. 259, Calatinus in 258.

26 19 **sententia . . . nutu**: i.e. the spoken opinion . . . the authoritative sign. Cf. Liv. 34, 62, 18: *Scipio . . . finire nutu disceptationem potuisset.*

26 20 **honorata**: see note on 22, p. 9, l. 26.

62 **26** 23 **adulescentiae**: i.e. of honorable youth, implied in *fundamentis.* A misspent youth could not serve as a foundation for any succeeding age.

26 24 **quondam**: the occasion is unknown.

26 25 **quae se . . . defenderet**: subjv. of characteristic, i.e. that which has occasion to defend itself.

26 28 **extremos**: 'at the end.' Propertius (2, 11, 4) uses this adjective
63 of death, "at the end" of life: *extremi funeris atra dies.* — **Haec,** etc.: some of the *fructus auctoritatis* are described in what follows.

26 29 **communia**: 'ordinary' (common to many).

26 30 **salutari**: 'to have one call on you,' as the Roman client did early in the morning. — **adpeti**: 'court you.' — **decedi**: 'make way for you.' — **adsurgi**: 'rise at your entrance.' — **deduci**: 'escort you' (down to the forum). — **reduci**: 'escort you home.' — **consuli**: 'ask your advice.' *Salutare*, *deducere*, *reducere*, were among the regular duties (*officia*) of the Roman client toward his patron. In return the patron owed a certain amount of protection and material support to the client.

26 31 **ut quaeque optime morata est**: 'in proportion as their morals are good.'

27 6 **Athenis**: abl. of place (loc.). — **ludis**, sc. *Panathenaicis:* abl. of time. This was the great Athenian festival commemorating the union of the demes of Attica into one city. It was held once in four years in the month *Hecatombaeon* (July), and comprised all the features of the Grecian festival.

27 7 **magno consessu**: abl. abs. with adversative force.

27 11 **sessum**: supine.

64 **27** 14 **vestro collegio**: i.e. of augurs.

27 16 **sententiae principatum**: 'precedence in giving one's opinion.' In the senate the order was *consulares*, *praetorii*, *aediles*, *tribunicii*,

quaestorii (see Abbott, *Roman Political Institutions*, § 167), but in this college age had precedence. — **honore**: 'official rank' in general.

27 17 **cum imperio**: the very highest officials, consuls, praetors, dictators, *magistri equitum*, and provincial governors, were invested with the *imperium*, the supreme military and civil power. Cf. Abbott, § 149 ff.

27 20 **fabulam . . . peregisse**: 'to have acted the play . . . to the end.'

27 22 **corruisse**: 'broken down.'

27 23 **morosi**: lit. 'full of whims,' i.e. *mores* of various kinds; **65**
'peevish.' Cicero explains it in both its original and derived meaning, in *Tusc.* 4, 54: *bene igitur nostri, cum omnia essent in moribus vitia, quod nullum erat iracundia foedius, iracundos solos 'morosos' nominaverunt.*

27 26 **non illius quidem iustae**: 'not to be sure a legitimate one.' For this use of *ille* see G. 307, 4, R. 4, N. 1; H. 507, 5.

27 27 **probari**: 'appear plausible.'

27 29 **offensio**: 'vexation' (contretemps).

27 30 **dulciora fiunt**: 'are mitigated.'

28 1 **Adelphis**: 'the Brothers,' a play of Terence. It was represented for the first time at the funeral of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, the father of Scipio, B.C. 160. — **diritas**: from *durus*.

28 5 **quid sibi velit**: 'what it means.'

28 9 **sollicitam habere**: 'keep it anxious.' **66**

28 15 **Atqui tertium**: this cheerful view of a future state was the common ground of ancient philosophy. It is stated with strong emphasis and conviction in Plato's *Apology of Socrates*, 32, imitated by Cicero, *Tusc.* 1, 97: *necesse est enim sit alterum de duobus, ut aut sensus omnino omnes mors auferat, aut in alium quendam locum ex his locis morte migretur.* The joys of this *alius locus* are then described.

28 17 **Quamquam**: takes up again the thought with which the section **67**
begins, i.e. old age cannot be far from death.

28 18 **cui sit exploratum**: (who is so foolish) 'that (he thinks) it has been made clear to him.' For the construction and use of *exploratum* cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 2. 17: *Metrodorus quidem perfecte eum beatum putat cui corpus bene constitutum sit, et exploratum ita semper fore. Quis autem est iste cui id exploratum possit esse?*

28 22 **tristius curantur**: i.e. their treatment costs more pain.

28 24 **viveretur**: 'mankind would live.'

28 26 **Quod . . . crimen**: 'what sort of charge?'

28 29 **exspectatis**: 'counted upon.' **68**

28 30 **fratribus**: two younger sons of Aemilius Paulus, who died, the one aged twelve, five days before his father's triumph over Perseus, the

other aged fifteen, eight days afterward. As his two elder sons had been adopted into the Fabian and Cornelian *gentes*, he left no representatives of his family name.

29 3 **At . . . At**: introducing respectively the objection of an imaginary opponent and Cato's answer to it.

29 5 **cum . . . consecutus est**: this use of *cum* explicative (*in that*), with the indicative, is common in early Latin, see § 549, *a*; B. 290; G. 582. In Cicero it is rare. See App.

69 **29** 8 **Tartessiorum**: Tartessus, a town in the south of Spain, of Phoenician origin. It was at the height of its prosperity under King Arganthonius, about B.C. 550. Afterward Gades (Cadiz) became the chief town of this region, for which reason Cicero mentions it here as if it were identical with Tartessus.

29 18 **contentus**: the rarity of such contentment is noted by Horace (*Sat.* I, I, 117):

> *Inde fit ut raro qui se vixisse beatum*
> *dicat, et exacto contentus tempore vitae*
> *cedat uti conviva satur, reperire queamus.*

70 — **ut placeat**: 'to give pleasure.'

29 20 **Plaudite**: the last word of the play, calling upon the spectators for applause. This (or its equivalent) is the usual ending for a Roman comedy.

29 25 **Ver enim,** etc.: cf. the figure in 5, where the progress of life is compared to the ripening of fruit. — **significat**: 'typifies.'

71 **29** 29 **secundum naturam**: the Stoic maxim, as in 5.

30 3 **multitudine**: 'great volume.'

30 4 **consumptus . . . exstinguitur**: best translated as one expression, 'burns itself out.' *Consumptus* is used in a middle (reflexive) sense.

30 5 **quasi** = *quemadmodum*: 'just as'; rarely found, except in archaic writers, in a real comparison, with the indicative.

30 9 **in portum,** etc.: the thought of this sentence is well illustrated in Emerson's *Terminus* (which might indeed have taken its title from the next line):

> I man the rudder, reef the sail,
> . . . .
> Right onward drive unharmed.
> The port, well worth the course, is near,
> And every wave is charmed.

72 **30** 12 **quoad . . . possis**: indefinite second person.

30 13 **tueri**: 'keep up.' Death is not an evil, but the limit of life is not arbitrarily fixed, and it is suitable for the old man to live so long

as he can perform his duties and feel no concern in regard to death. Of these two points *munus . . . tueri* covers the ground of the first three common charges against old age mentioned in 15, while *mortem contemnere* covers the last, *quod haud procul absit a morte.*

30 15 Hoc illud est, quod . . . responsum est: 'this is the meaning of that famous answer which,' etc.

30 18 Sed vivendi, etc.: but scorn of death should not lead men to anticipate nature by bringing their lives to an end themselves.

30 20 coagmentavit: 'put together.'

30 24 Ita fit: it is not easy to find a clear and logical argument in 71, 72, and 73, but in this sentence are summed up the two main points: (1) 'death should not be feared'; (2) 'death should not be sought.'

30 25 nec sine causa: the Stoics considered that suicide was justified if the reason for it was sufficiently strong. Cato Uticensis, the great-grandson of Cato the Censor, committed suicide after the battle of Thapsus, B.C. 46, and Cicero wrote a eulogy of him.

30 26 vetatque Pythagoras: the same idea is expressed by Cicero in *Tusc.* 1, 74: *vetat enim dominus ille in nobis deus iniussu hinc nos suo demigrare*, and *de Rep.* 6, 15. Cf. also Plato, *Phaedo*, 61.

30 28 elogium: for a Latin translation of this couplet see Cic. *Tusc.* **73**
1, 117 (where it is contrasted with the sentiment of Ennius):

Mors mea ne careat lacrimis: linquamus amicis
maerorem, ut celebrent funera cum gemitu.

30 29 Volt . . . se esse: 'wishes to make out that he is' (Reid). In this general sense *volo* regularly takes an inf. with subj. acc.; G. 546, 2, R. 1.

30 31 Nemo, etc.: Cicero quotes the couplet complete in *Tusc.* 1, 34. The rest of the second verse, omitted here, runs:

cur? volito vivus per ora virum.

30 32 Faxit: old form of perf. subjv. The use of the perf. subjv. in a wish is archaic; § 441, *a*; G. 260; H. 558, 1, N.

31 2 sensus moriendi: 'sensation in dying.' **74**

31 3 isque: *que* is adversative as in 13, p. 6, l. 21, *vixitque.* — **ad exiguum tempus**: 'only for a moment.'

31 5 hoc: anticipatory, i.e. *ut mortem neglegamus.* — **meditatum**: 'dwelt upon.'

31 7 incertum an: 'we know not but.'

31 9 animo consistere: 'have any firmness of mind.'

31 11 in liberanda patria: Brutus was killed by Aruns Tarquinius,
son of Tarquinius Superbus, on the occasion of the first attempt of **75**
the Tarquins to regain Rome after their expulsion from it.

31 12 **voluntariam mortem**: sacrificing themselves for their armies. See Index of Persons, *Decius*.

31 13 **M. Atilium**: Regulus.

31 15 **Poenis**: the forces left in Spain by Hannibal under the command of his brother Hasdrubal.

31 17 **collegae**: the colleagues in the consulship for the year B.C. 216 were Gaius Terentius Varro and Lucius Aemilius Paulus (father of the victor of Pydna). Paulus was inclined, on the present occasion, to follow a cautious policy, and it was Varro who was responsible for the disastrous battle of Cannae. By the irony of fate Varro escaped alive, while Paulus perished. — **Cannensi ignominia**: the word *ignominia* is well chosen, for the defeat at Cannae (see Index of Persons, *Hannibal*) was the most crushing that the Romans met with at the hands of Hannibal. Besides the consul Paulus, two quaestors, twenty-one military tribunes, and eighty senators were slain, and tradition runs that "Hannibal sent to Carthage a peck of gold rings, the distinctive badge of the Roman knight."

31 18 **temeritatem**: the cautious policy of Fabius Maximus *Cunctator*, who had been dictator the previous year, had become unpopular at Rome with many, but the results of the opposite policy at Cannae justified the application of such words as *temeritas* to the aggressive activity desired by these critics. — **M. Marcellum**: killed in an ambuscade B.C. 208. See Index of Persons.

31 19 **crudelissimus**: perfidy and cruelty were the stock characteristics ascribed to Hannibal by the Romans. Cicero, *Lael.* 28, contrasts Hannibal with Pyrrhus in this respect: *ab altero* (Pyrrhus), *propter probitatem eius, non nimis alienos animos habemus, alterum* (Hannibal), *propter crudelitatem, semper haec civitas oderit.*

31 21 **in Originibus**: this statement Cicero elsewhere (*Tusc.* I, 101) quotes directly from Cato: *sed quid duces . . . nominem, cum legiones scribat Cato saepe alacris in eum locum profectas unde redituras se non arbitrarentur?* — **alacri . . . erecto**: 'with high and eager courage.'

31 24 **indocti**: i.e. in philosophy.

76 **31** 25 **Omnino**: 'on the whole,' 'to sum all up.'

31 29 **constans . . . media**: 'well-settled period of middle life, so called.'

32 1 **occidunt**: 'fall away.'

77 **32** 6 **quo . . . propius absum**: 'the nearer I am to it.' Note the difference between the Latin and the English idiom.

32 7 **Laeli**: the father of Laelius was a very intimate friend of Cato.

32 10 **compagibus**: 'structure,' 'penthouse.' — **munere . . . perfungimur**: 'we are fulfilling (as it were) a task of necessity and a burdensome work.' Cf. Cic. *de Rep.* 6, 15: (the soul must not leave the body without the command of Providence), *ne munus humanum adsignatum a deo defugisse videamini.*

32 13 **quasi demersus**: the literal meaning of *demersus* is appropriate to the sea rather than to the earth.

32 17 **modo**: cf. the meaning of *moderationem*, 1, p. 1, l. 9.

32 18 **ratio ac disputatio**: 'theory and argument.'

32 21 **incolas paene nostros**: because the chief seat of the Pythago- **78**
reans was Croton, a Greek city of southern Italy.

32 22 **quin . . . haberemus**: 'that we have souls drawn (as drops from a fountain) from the universal divine intelligence.'

32 23 **mente divina**: this theory of a world-soul, however, was not peculiar to the Pythagoreans. It was a doctrine of Plato and of the Stoics as well.

32 24 **Socrates**: in Plato's celebrated dialogue, the *Phaedo.*

32 25 **disseruisset**: subjv. in implied indir. disc.; § 592, 2; B. 323; G. 663, 2; H. 649, 1.

32 26 **sapientissimus**:

> Whom, well-inspired, the oracle pronounced
> Wisest of men. — Milton, *Paradise Regained*, 4, 275.

32 27 **Sic mihi persuasi**: four proofs of the immortality of the soul follow: (1) its great capacity; (2) its innate power of motion; (3) its homogeneity of substance; (4) its pre-existence.

32 28 **celeritas**: 'rapidity of thought.'

32 29 **prudentia**: 'foresight,' the original meaning of the word. See note on 1, p. 1, l. 11. — **tantae scientiae**: *scientia* means not 'science,' but 'knowledge,' and can no more properly be used in the plural than can that English word. It is found in classical Latin only here (see Moore ad loc.) and must be translated 'branches of knowledge' or 'range of knowledge.'

32 31 **semper agitetur**: 'is always in motion.' The same argument (from Plato's *Phaedrus*, 245 C) is quoted more fully by Cicero in *Tusc.* 1, 53. The argument there is, 'Unceasing motion means unceasing existence; existence ceases when motion ceases. Therefore, only that in which the source of motion never fails, i.e. that which is its own source of motion, is eternal: *quod semper movetur aeternum est; quod autem motum adfert alicui, quodque ipsum agitatur aliunde, quando*

finem habet motus, vivendi finem habeat necesse est. Solum igitur, quod se ipsum movet, quia numquam deseritur a se, numquam ne moveri quidem desinit. Cf. also Cic. *de Rep.* 6, 27.

33 3 **simplex**: 'of one substance.'

33 6 **magnoque esse argumento**, etc.: *magno . . . argumento*, pred. dat. of purpose. The subject of *esse* is the clause *quod . . . arripiant. Homines scire*, etc., states the fact that the argument goes to prove. The general sense of the passage is: the fact that children learn so quickly that they seem to be merely recalling things already familiar to them, implies that the soul existed previous to its connection with its present body, and in that period acquired the knowledge that it now recalls. And this previous existence implies a future existence. The argument is found in Plato, *Phaedo* 72 (Jowett): "Your doctrine, Socrates, that knowledge is simply recollection, if true, also implies a previous time in which we learn that which we now recollect. But this would be impossible unless our soul was in some place before existing in the human form. Here then is another argument for the soul's immortality . . . (77), for if the soul existed before birth, — and in being born can be born only from death, — must she not after death continue to exist, since she has to be born again?"

33 10 **reminisci**: 'call to mind.' — **recordari**: 'dwell upon,' in thought. — **fere**: implying, as is the case, that not all of the foregoing arguments are from Plato.

79 **33** 11 **Cyrus . . . dicit**: Cyrus the Elder, founder of the Persian empire, in the *Cyropaedia* of Xenophon, 8, 7, 17–22. The expression is somewhat changed in passing through the lips of Cato, but the general thought is the same. In the *Cyropaedia* Cyrus has stated his desire that the elder son should rule after him, but should, if he need a colleague, associate the younger with him in the government. He urges his sons to honor one another, and thus show their regard for him after his death.

33 14 **Nec enim**: here Cyrus begins a series of five arguments to prove the soul's immortality: (1) (a negative argument) the soul's invisibility after the death of the body does not prove that it too dies, for it is invisible even when in the body; (2) (*nec vero*, 80, l. 17) the dead still influence the living; (3) (*mihi*, l. 20) it is unreasonable to suppose that the soul derives life or consciousness from its connection with the perishable and unconscious body; (4) (*atque etiam*, l. 25) of all the component parts of man, the soul alone cannot be traced in dissolution; (5) (*iam vero*, 81, l. 29) the soul shows its independence of the body by

its prophetic powers when even partially freed from its trammels during the sleep of the body.

33 17 **Nec vero**: the honors paid to the dead prove that their souls still live and influence the living. **80**

33 20 **numquam persuaderi potuit**: the subject is *animum . . . vivere . . . emori . . . esse insipientem.*

33 23 **insipientem**: 'incapable of sense.'

33 25 **sapientem**: 'conscious' (capable of sense).

33 26 **natura**: 'constitution.'

33 29 **Iam vero**: 'and finally.' **81**

34 1 **remissi**: 'relaxed.'

34 4 **colitote . . . ut deum**: future imp. See note on 3, p. 2, l. 12. Cicero's translation here is not accurate. The expression in Xenophon is: "If these things are as I think, and the soul forsakes (survives) the body, do what I ask, in reverence of my soul (τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν καταιδούμενοι)," for it will still be conscious.

34 5 **deos verentes**: Xenophon goes on: "but if . . . the soul, remaining in the body, dies with it, then, fearing the gods, who are immortal, . . . do nothing and devise nothing irreverent or wicked."

34 6 **hanc omnem pulchritudinem**: 'this glorious universe,' Cicero's condensed translation of Xenophon's expression "the order (τάξιν) of the universe . . . the greatness and beauty of which is indescribable."

34 7 **memoriam nostri**: they are still to carry out their father's wishes through fear of the gods' disapproval, even if he himself shall not be conscious of their doing so. — **servabitis**: the future may be used in place of an imperative in familiar language.

34 11 **patrem aut patruum**: Publius and Gnaeus Scipio (see genea- **82**
logical table in Index of Persons).

34 13 **esse conatos**: irregularly used for *conaturos fuisse.*

34 14 **nisi animo cernerent**: 'without seeing'; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 32: *nemo umquam sine magna spe inmortalitatis se pro patria offeret ad mortem.* Yet he recognizes an inborn sense of duty apart from pleasure or hope of reward in 43, *esse profecto . . . sequeretur*, and illustrates it from the sacrifice of Decius *pro patria.*

34 17 **suscepturum fuisse**: § 589, *b*, 2; B. 321, 2, *a*; G. 659, 2; H. 647.

34 30 **Equidem**: 'for my own part.' — **efferor**: 'I am carried away.' **83**
The thought is taken from Plato, *Apol.* 41, which is translated by Cicero, *Tusc.* 1, 98.

35 2 **conscripsi**: in the *Origines.*

35 4 **Peliam**: Cicero should here have named Aeson rather than Pelias, as Medea's magic rites were successful in the case of the former, while she purposely caused the experiment to fail with the latter, her husband's enemy, and he died. For the story see Index of Persons, *Pelias*.

35 5 **repuerascam**: this word (lit. = 'to become a child again') is used in a modified sense, 'to behave like a child,' Cic. *de Or.* 2, 22, and Plautus, *Merc.* 296.

35 7 **calce**: 'the goal,' anciently marked with lime or chalk (*calx*).

84 **35** 9 **habeat**: sc. *commodi.* — **sane**: 'if you will.' Lucretius (3, 934) makes the same point, comparing life to a feast:

> *. . . quid mortem congemis ac fles?*
> *nam gratis anteacta fuit tibi vita priorque*
> *et non omnia pertusum congesta quasi in vas*
> *commoda perfluxere atque ingrata interiere:*
> *cur non ut plenus vitae conviva recedis*
> *aequo animoque capis securam, stulte, quietem?*

35 15 **devorsorium**: 'an inn' (for turning aside from the highway). "But while we deal with this as a finality, early hints are given that we are not to stay here; that we must be making ready to go: a warning that this magnificent hotel and conveniency that we call Nature is not final." — Emerson, *Poetry and Imagination*.

35 18 **conluvione**: 'confused medley'; 'muddle.'

35 19 **Catonem meum**: his son.

35 22 **quod contra**: 'whereas on the contrary.' *Quod* is governed by *contra*, an unusual word-order. Cf. *quem contra*, Cic. *Phil.* 2, 18.

35 23 **respectans**: 'looking back toward.'

35 25 **non quo**: 'not that.' — **aequo**: 'untroubled.'

35 26 **ferrem**: subjv. in a reason expressed merely to deny it; § 540, N. 3; B. 286, 1, *b*; G. 541, N. 2; H. 588, II, 2.

35 27 **digressum**: walking in different paths. — **discessum**: 'separation,' from one another.

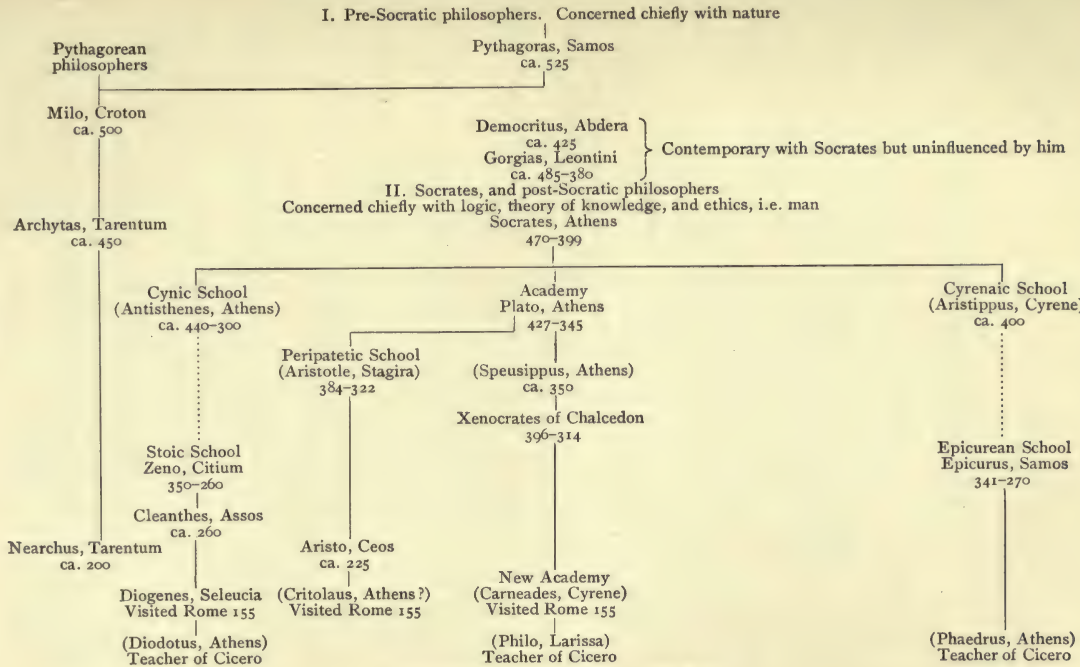
85 **35** 31 **qui . . . credam**: subjv. of characteristic, 'in thinking.'— **libenter erro**: 'I am glad to err.'

36 2 **minuti**: 'petty.' Cicero has in mind the Epicureans, who believed not in immortal life, but in "immortal death," *mors inmortalis* (Lucr. 3, 869).

36 3 **nihil sentiam**: 'have no consciousness.'

36 7 **peractio**: 'closing act' (cf. the figure in 5, p. 3, l. 10). The word occurs nowhere else in classical Latin.

Greek Philosophers Mentioned* in the Cato Maior



* Names in parentheses are of related interest only.

INDEX OF PERSONS

Parenthetical figures immediately following key words refer to sections of text.

against the exchange, returned to Carthage, and died there. It was believed that he was put to death with horrible tortures.

Atticus, see **Pomponius**.

Brutus, see **Junius**.

Caecilius Metellus, L. (30, 61), cos. B.C. 251 and 247, a hero of the First Punic War. His most famous achievements were his victory over the Carthaginians at Panormus in his first consulship, and his rescue of the Palladium from the fire which destroyed the temple of Vesta, B.C. 241 (Liv. *Epit.* 19).

Caecilius Statius (24, 25, 36), a freedman of Insubrian birth, who, like his contemporary Plautus, translated and worked over the comedies of Menander and other Greek writers. Of his plays only fragments are extant, but Cicero (*de Opt. Gen. Or.* 1, 2) and other Roman critics (Aul. Gell. 15, 24) ranked him first among writers of Roman comedy. Terence read aloud to him for criticism his first play, the *Andria*. He died about B.C. 166.

Caepio, see **Servilius**.

Calatinus, see **Atilius**.

Camillus, see **Furius**.

Carvilius Maximus, Sp. (11), cos. B.C. 234, and, with Fabius Maximus Cunctator, B.C. 228. He is noted chiefly for his proposition, after the battle of Cannae, to fill up the depleted ranks of the Roman senators by choosing two representatives from each Latin community (Liv. 23, 22, 5). He was a plebeian and did not support his colleague Maximus in his opposition to the democratic measure of Flaminius in regard to the assignment of Gallic and Picene lands.

Cato, see **Porcius**.

Cento, see **Claudius**.

Cethegus, see **Cornelius**.

Cincinnatus, see **Quinctius**.

Cineas (43), a pupil of Demosthenes, whom Pyrrhus sent as ambassador to Rome after his first victory, over Laevinus, B.C. 280. His proposals for peace were successfully opposed by Appius Claudius Caecus. Two years later was the Roman embassy of Fabricius and others to Pyrrhus, on which occasion Cineas returned the hospitality which he had experienced in Rome. Cineas' usual success as ambassador led Pyrrhus to say that he had won more cities by words than he himself had by weapons (Plut. *Pyrrhus*, 14).

Claudius Caecus, App. (16, 37), known as *Caecus*, "the blind," or as "the censor," one of the few men of real genius among the statesmen

of the old Republic. In his censorship, B.C. 312, he attempted some democratic innovations, which were set aside by his successor, Quintus Fabius Maximus (ancestor of the Cunctator) and built the first military road, the *Via Appia*; he was also the first to bring a supply of fresh water into the city by the *Aqua Appia*. See also note on 16.

Claudius Crassinus Regillensis, App. (41), cos. B.C. 349.

Claudius Cento (50), son of Appius Claudius Caecus. He was active in political life, cos. B.C. 240, interrex 217, dictator 213.

Claudius Marcellus, M. (75), the "Sword of Rome," a leading commander in the Second Punic War; killed in an ambuscade while fighting against Hannibal at Venusia in his fifth consulship, B.C. 208. His chief exploit was the capture of Syracuse, B.C. 212 (see under *Hannibal*), but he is also noted as the last man in Roman history to win the *spolia opima*. This he achieved in his first consulship, B.C. 222, by killing, at Clastidium, the leader of the Insubrian Gauls. Naevius made this event the subject of a *praetexta*.

Cleanthes (23), a Stoic philosopher of Assos, living in the third century B.C., pupil of Zeno, and his successor as head of the Stoic school. He lived to be eighty years old.

Cornelius Cethegus, M. (10, 50), consul with Tuditanus, B.C. 204, the year of Cato's quaestorship, when he defeated, in northern Italy, Mago the Carthaginian, who was bringing help to Hannibal. He is mentioned in Cicero's *Brutus* (57) as the earliest Roman orator recorded as such: *quem vero exstet et de quo sit memoriae proditum eloquentem fuisse et ita esse habitum, primus est M. Cornelius Cethegus*; and called by Ennius *Suadae medulla* ('marrow of persuasion') and *flos delibatus populi* 'picked flower of the people' (quoted from Ennius' *Annales*, Cic. *Brut.* 58; 59).

Cornelius Scipio, Cn. and **P.** (29, 75), two brothers who held command in the early years of the Second Punic War, and who fell in battle in Spain within a month of each other, B.C. 212. From them respectively were descended the two main branches of the Scipio family. Publius was father of the elder Africanus; Gnaeus, of Nasica (see note on 45, *Magnae Matris*); from him were descended several generations with the same agnomen, all more or less famous.

Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor, P., interlocutor in the *Cato Maior*, was son of L. Aemilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, but passed by adoption into the family of Scipio. He was consul B.C. 147 and 134, conquered Carthage in 146 and Numantia in 133. As a statesman and general he was first of his age; of unblemished private character and of a calm good sense, which was the quality most needed

in his time. Mommsen says of him, "the history of Rome presents various men of greater genius than Scipio Aemilianus, but none equaling him in moral purity, in the utter absence of political selfishness, in generous love of his country, and none, perhaps, to whom destiny has assigned a more tragic part." He died B.C. 129, and there was strong suspicion that he was assassinated by the infamous Carbo. He is important not only as a statesman, but also as a patron of literature. The group of literary men of which he was the center is known as the "Scipionic circle." Among them were Laelius and Terence. They were greatly interested in Greek literature and philosophy, and did all in their power to encourage interest in these at Rome. They stood, thus, for precisely the ideas that Cato opposed, and there is no record of such intimacy between Scipio and Cato as is implied by Cicero.

Cornelius Scipio Africanus Maior, P. (19, 29, 35, 61, 82), son of Publius Scipio, cos. B.C. 205 and 194. He first won glory by saving his father's life in the battle of the Ticinus. He fought in the battle of Cannae (216), carried the war into Africa in 204 (with Cato as quaestor), where he won his decisive victory over Hannibal at Zama in B.C. 202. He then took part in the war against Antiochus, as *legatus* with his brother, L. Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus. He withdrew from public life after this campaign, because he and his brother were accused of misappropriating the spoils of the war, and retired to his country home near Naples, where he died, probably in B.C. 183. See note on 19, *sextus*.

Cornelius Scipio Africanus, P. (35), son of the foregoing, a man known to fame only as the son of his father and as the father of his (adopted) son, Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Minor. His epitaph is still extant. See note on 35, *si ita*.

Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, P. (50), grandson of Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio, received the name *Corculum* (from *cor*) for his intellectual eminence. He married Cornelia, the daughter of the elder Africanus. He opposed Cato's constant demand for the destruction of Carthage (Liv. *Epit.* 48), and advocated its preservation as a check upon the vainglory of the Roman people (Plut. *Cat.* 27).

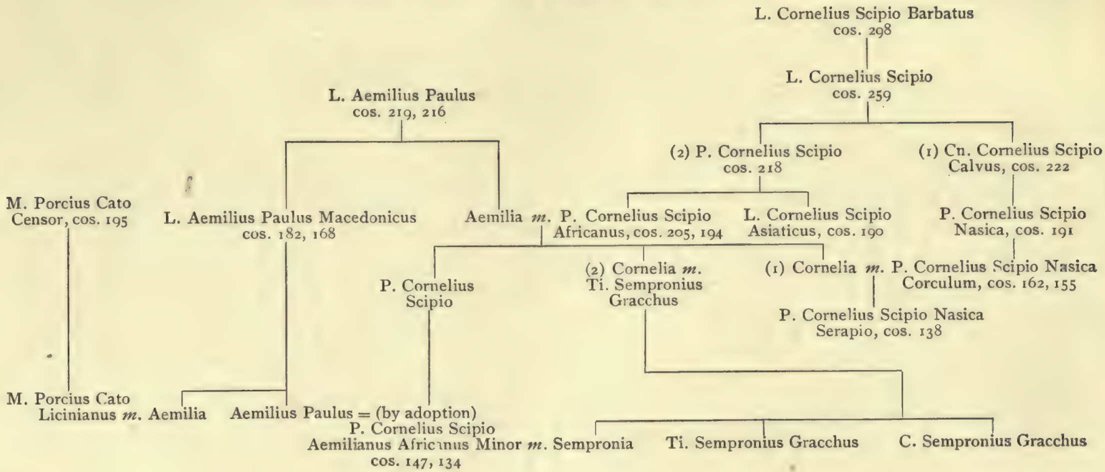
Coruncanius, Ti. (15, 27, 43), a native of Tusculum, the first plebeian pontifex maximus (Liv. *Epit.* 18).

Crassus, see Licinius.

Critobulus (59), a pupil of Socrates, represented by Xenophon as one of the interlocutors in his *Oeconomicus*.

Curius Dentatus, M'. (15, 43, 55, 56), a hero of the Third Samnite War and of the war with Pyrrhus. His is the honor of having brought

THE SCIPIO FAMILY AND SOME OF ITS CONNECTIONS



both these wars to an end, the first in B.C. 290, the second by the battle of Beneventum B.C. 275. M'. Curius, C. Fabricius, and Ti. Coruncanius are often mentioned together as types of the old Roman frugality and integrity. For stories illustrating these qualities in Curius, see note on 55.

Cyrus (Maior) (30, 32, 79) established the great Persian empire by first getting possession of the kingdom of Media, to which Persia was then subject, and then conquering Lydia and Babylon. He died B.C. 529.

Cyrus (Minor) (59), son of Darius, younger brother of Artaxerxes II, to whom Darius had left the kingdom of Persia. With the assistance of his mother, Parysatis, he tried to wrest the kingdom from Artaxerxes, marching against him B.C. 401, with an auxiliary force of ten thousand Greeks. He met his brother at Cunaxa, where he himself was killed, but his Greek auxiliaries escaped and reached the coast in safety in the famous retreat described by Xenophon in the *Anabasis*. Lysander, a Spartan general in the Peloponnesian War, received financial aid from Cyrus against the Athenians.

Decius Mus, P. (75), a hero who sacrificed himself for his country in the Latin War (B.C. 340–337). Livy (8, 9 ff.) tells us that the sacrifice was preceded by a visit from an apparition which prophesied that on one side a general, on the other side an army, must be sacrificed to the Manes and to Mother Earth. Thus in sacrificing himself Decius was also sacrificing the army of his foe and insuring victory to Rome.

Decius Mus, P. (43, 75), son of the foregoing. In his fourth consulship (B.C. 295) was fought at Sentinum the decisive battle against the great coalition of Italian nations headed by the Samnites (Third Samnite War). His voluntary death (*devotio*; see note on 43) was followed by a complete victory, which broke up the alliance, though the war dragged on five years longer. Cicero (*Tusc.* 1, 89) says that a third member of the family, grandson of the first Decius, sacrificed himself in the same manner at the battle of Asculum in the war with Pyrrhus, but elsewhere (*de Off.* 3, 16), he speaks of only two Decii, and the existence of the third is not well authenticated.

Democritus (23), born about B.C. 460 at Abdera in Thrace; said to have lived about one hundred years. He is important as the first philosopher who developed the atomic theory (originated by Leucippus) which was afterward the basis of the philosophy of Epicurus.

Diogenes (23), of Babylonia, a Stoic philosopher (see *Zeno*), who came to Rome from Athens B.C. 155, on an embassy in regard to the settlement of affairs after the Third Macedonian War. His companions were

Carneades, the founder of the New Academy, and Critolaus, a Peripatetic. The Romans considered their influence pernicious (Carneades on one day made an eloquent speech in favor of justice, and on the next day with equal eloquence pleaded against it), and they were expelled from Rome. Cato was one of their most violent opponents.

Duellius, C. (44), cos. B.C. 260, in which year he gained a naval victory over the Carthaginians. Knowing the superiority of the enemy in naval tactics, he undertook to balance this by a kind of boarding-bridge, which grappled the enemies' ships and held them fast, after which the battle became essentially a land fight, decided by the prowess of the soldiers rather than by naval maneuvers. This victory over the enemy on their own ground, in a branch of warfare in which the Romans were wholly inexperienced, naturally was of incalculable value in raising their spirits and confidence, and gained great reputation for their commander. A column, adorned with the beaks of ships, was erected in the Forum in his honor, of which fragments are still extant.

Ennius, Q. (1, 10, 14, 16, 50, 73), born at Rudiae B.C. 239, died 169. Though not the earliest Roman writer, Ennius was recognized by the Romans as the first really great genius in Roman literature and as the father of Roman poetry. His right to this title is based chiefly on his *Annales*, an epic on Roman history, written in dactylic hexameter, a meter not used before by any Roman writer. This work comprised eighteen books, and covered Roman history from the landing of Aeneas in Latium down to the Third Macedonian War. Ennius also wrote tragedies and comedies (largely adapted from the Greek), and various miscellaneous poems, also showing strongly the influence of Greek thought. He was, like Scipio, the very opposite of Cato in his attitude toward Greek and the Greeks, yet according to tradition it was Cato who first brought him to Rome, B.C. 204, after meeting him in Sardinia, where he was serving in the Roman army.

Epicurus (43), a Greek philosopher, founder of the school of philosophy which bears his name, lived B.C. 341–270. The physics of the Epicureans were based on the atomic theory of Democritus. They held that the universe was made up of void and of atoms — invisible bodies differing in size and shapes and indestructible. It had come into being by the chance combination of these atoms, and would finally cease to exist in its present form, the atoms re-combining into new forms. The human soul, made up of very fine, smooth atoms, would itself be dissolved at the dissolution of the body. The ethics of the Epicureans made pleasure the highest good (*summum bonum*). These two ideas — the

mortality of the soul and the glorification of pleasure — were absolutely opposed to Cicero's views, after his early youth, when he was for a time attracted by this system.

Fabius Maximus, Q. (12), son of the following, cos. B.C. 213. See note on 12, *fili.*

Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Cunctator, Q. (10–13, 15, 39, 61), the chief citizen of Rome in the early years of the Second Punic War, held command against Hannibal, and from his cautious policy received the name *Cunctator*. In his fifth consulship (B.C. 209) he recovered Tarentum, the third city in Italy. The Roman commander, M. Livius Macatus, had lost the city, but continued to hold the citadel, from which he gave Fabius aid.

Fabricius Luscinus, C. (15, 43), a hero of the war with Pyrrhus, famous for having resisted the attempt of Pyrrhus to bribe him, and for having sent back to him a deserter who offered to poison the king for the benefit of the Romans (Plut. *Pyrrhus*, 20; 21).

Flaccus, see Valerius.

Flamininus, see Quinctius.

Flaminius, C. (11), cos. 223 and 217; a leader of the democratic party; builder of the Flaminian Way and the Flaminian Circus. He was killed B.C. 217, in the battle of Lake Trasimenus. See also note on 11.

Furius Camillus, L. (41), cos. B.C. 349, son of the famous Camillus who played so important a part at the time when Rome was captured by the Gauls B.C. 390. This Camillus also fought against the Gauls (Liv. 7, 24 ff.).

Galus, see Sulpicius.

Glabrio, see Acilius.

Gorgias (13, 23), a Sophist philosopher and rhetorician of Leontini in Sicily, born about B.C. 485, said to have lived to be over one hundred. He is introduced by Plato in his dialogue *Gorgias* in controversy with Socrates on the grounds of moral truth. The extreme Sophistic principle he enunciated in this way: Nothing exists. If it did it couldn't be known; if it could be known it couldn't be communicated. His last words are said to have been "Now sleep bears me to his brother" (death). It is however as a rhetorician rather than as a philosopher that Cicero cites him in the *Cato Maior*. He was one of the first to cultivate rhetoric as an art. In this his most famous pupil was Isocrates.

Hannibal (10, 75, *crudelissimus hostis*), chief commander in the Second Punic War, in which Cato took an active part. Hannibal started from Spain, where he was in command of the Carthaginian troops,

B.C. 218, crossed the Alps into Italy, and made his way gradually southward, constantly victorious. After his victory at Lake Trasimenus (B.C. 217), Quintus Fabius Maximus was made dictator, and it was at this time that Cato entered upon his military career (*Cat. Mai.* 10; 18). In 216 Hannibal won his great victory at Cannae, and occupied Capua. In 215 Syracuse went over to his side, and in 212 Tarentum came into his power. The Romans soon recovered these places, Syracuse under Marcellus B.C. 212, Capua and Tarentum 211 and 209 respectively, under Fabius Maximus. In all these campaigns Cato is said to have taken part, though the tradition according to which he was military tribune under Marcellus at Syracuse (Nep. *Cat.* 1, 2) is probably false. He was also present at the battle of the Metaurus (B.C. 207), the first decisive victory of the Romans, under Livius Salinator and Claudius Nero. In 203 Hannibal returned to Africa. Scipio Africanus had carried the war thither the year before, and under him Cato acted as quaestor. In 202 came the final victory of Scipio at Zama. Carthage later turned against Hannibal, and he spent his last days in exile, first at the court of Antiochus of Asia, then at that of Prusias of Bithynia. While living with Antiochus he helped him in the plans for his war against Rome (B.C. 192–190), the war in which Cato ended his military career under Glabrio (battle of Thermopylae, 191). Hannibal ended his life at the court of Prusias, B.C. 183, by taking poison to escape being surrendered to the Romans, who had sent an embassy under Titus Quinctius Flamininus (q.v.) to bring him to Rome.

Hesiodus (23, 54), Greek poet of the eighth century B.C. His native town was Ascra in Boeotia. His works were the *Theogony* (probably), a mythological poem, and the *Works and Days*, a sort of farmer's calendar, mingling directions for farming with general reflections and stories. It is to the latter work that Cicero refers in the *Cato Maior*.

Homerus (23, 31, 54), accepted generally, though not universally in antiquity, as the author of the Iliad and the Odyssey. He was generally reckoned as the earliest known Greek poet, though some would have given that honor to Hesiod (see note on 54 *multis . . . saeculis*). Seven cities claimed Homer as their son,

Smyrna, Chios, Colophon, Salamis, Rhodos, Argos, Athenae.

Isocrates (13, 23), the "old man eloquent," who, at the age of ninety-three, died at the report of "that dishonest victory at Chaeronea, fatal to liberty" (Milton, Sonnet 10). He was a pupil of Gorgias of Leontini, and himself the head of a school of rhetoric at Athens. Cicero, in

whose time sixty of his orations were extant, admired his style and based his own largely upon it.

Junius Brutus, L. (75), the leader in the revolution which expelled the Tarquins from Rome B.C. 509.

Laelius, C. (77), cos. B.C. 190, father of the interlocutor in the *Cato Maior*, a friend of the elder Scipio, as his son was of the younger.

Laelius Sapiens, C., b. B.C. 190, cos. 140, interlocutor in the *Cato Maior*. He was in his time a man of high culture and considerable influence, especially noted as a public speaker. To us he is important chiefly through his association with Scipio, to whose "circle" he belonged.

Laertes (54), father of Odysseus.

Lepidus, see **Aemilius**.

Licinius Crassus Dives, P. (27, 50, 61), an eminent jurist, pontifex maximus, cos. B.C. 205. He took part in the war against Hannibal.

Livius Andronicus (50), the earliest figure (excepting Appius Claudius) in the history of Roman literature. He was a Greek by birth (of Tarentum), was brought to Rome prisoner, and there, B.C. 240, exhibited a comedy and a tragedy, the first Latin plays, adapted from the Greek. He also translated the Odyssey into Latin Saturnian verse. His work is important rather for the impulse it gave than for its own merits. He lived ca. B.C. 284–204.

Livius Salinator, C. (7), cos. B.C. 188. His most important achievement was his naval victory when in command of the fleet against Antiochus, B.C. 191.

Livius Salinator, M. (11), a distinguished and successful general in the campaign against Hasdrubal B.C. 207, erroneously represented by Cicero as in command at Tarentum. It was in reality **Marcus Livius Macatus** that lost Tarentum and gave efficient service from the citadel in its recovery. For explanation of Cicero's error, see A. J. P. XIX, 437 (1898).

Lysander (59, 63), a distinguished Spartan general, who defeated the Athenians at Aegospotami, B.C. 404. He used against Athens the aid and treasure of Cyrus.

Lysimachus (21), father of Aristides.

Maccius Plautus, T. (50), born ca. B.C. 254, at Sarsina in Umbria, died 184. He translated from the Greek (very freely) the comedies of Menander, Philemon, and others. Twenty of these are extant (including both of those mentioned in the *Cato Maior*), and form the earliest complete specimens of Roman literature now existing. In spite of their Greek origin they have a strongly Roman flavor.

When the enchantress Medea returned with Jason to Iolcos, she persuaded the daughters of Pelias to cut up their father and boil him in a caldron in order to make him young again, having first done the same herself with Aeson, the father of Jason. She took pains, however, that the enchantment should fail with them, and thus avenged her husband upon his enemy.

Philippus, see **Marcius.**

Pisistratus (72), a younger relative of Solon, whose constitution he overthrew B.C. 560, making himself the first tyrant of Athens (see *Solon*). He is said, however, to have made friends again with Solon after his usurpation, and to have often asked his advice (see Plut. *Solon*, 31). He died B.C. 527.

Plato (13, 23, 41, 44, 78), founder of the school of philosophy known from its place of meeting (the grove of Academus) as the Academy. He was born B.C. 427, died B.C. 347. His home was Athens, but he traveled much, visiting among other places Egypt, Sicily, and Magna Graecia, where he gave attention to the Pythagorean philosophy. At Athens he was a pupil of Socrates. He believed that virtue was the *summum bonum* and that wisdom was the means of its attainment. His most famous doctrine is that of the "idea." What we perceive through the senses is not the real, but only various manifestations of the real that lies back of these manifestations in the realm of pure mind. These intangible realities he calls "ideas." They are the "concepts" of logic. Thus "Man" is the "idea," of which individual men are only so many shadows as it were. The senses recognize men, the mind alone Man. This belief served as the basis for his Pythagorean belief in the transmigration of souls. The soul has existed always and has known these "ideas" through all the stages of its existence. Thus all that we call knowledge is in reality reminiscence or recollection of this previously-possessed knowledge. A necessary corollary to this existence of the soul before the birth of the present body is its existence after the death of the body.

Plautus, see **Maccius.**

Pomponius Atticus, T. (1), a rich Roman banker, publisher, and writer, Cicero's most intimate friend. His sister Pomponia married Cicero's brother Quintus. Atticus acquired his cognomen from the fact that he spent much of his time in Athens. He was on intimate terms with various other political men at Rome, as well as with Cicero, but kept himself resolutely out of politics. Both the *Cato Maior* and the *Laelius de Amicitia* are dedicated to him.

universe. In connection with this last stood his famous theory of the "music of the spheres."

Quinctius Cincinnatus, L. (56), a typical Roman patrician of the early Republic. He was dictator twice. The famous incident of his being called from the plow belongs to his first dictatorship, B.C. 458 (Liv. 3, 26, 8 ff.); the second (B.C. 439), *seditionis sedandae causa*, was occasioned by the uneasiness of the patricians at the popularity and ambition of Spurius Maelius. The only offense of Maelius, so far as was proved, was that he lavished his wealth to relieve the poor in a time of famine. This brought him into suspicion of scheming to make himself king, and rumor had it that he had filled his house with arms and held nightly meetings of conspirators (Liv. 4, 13). Cicero does not distinguish between the two dictatorships of Cincinnatus in the passage in the *Cato Maior* where he mentions him.

Quinctius Flamininus, L. (42) (see Liv. 39, 42), known chiefly in connection with his more famous brother (see below), under whom he served as *legatus* in Greece.

Quinctius Flamininus, T. (1, 42), brother of the foregoing. He conquered Philip V of Macedon and ended the Third Macedonian War by the battle of Cynoscephalae, B.C. 197 (Liv. 33, 24), thereby delivering Greece for the time being from the increasing power of Macedonia. Flamininus used his victory with great moderation. At the Isthmian games, near Corinth, he formally restored their independence to the Greeks, after which both Greece and Macedonia remained independent for about fifty years. In B.C. 183 he was sent to Prusias, king of Bithynia, to demand the surrender of Hannibal, who had taken refuge there (Liv. 39, 51).

Quinctius Flamininus, T. (14), consul with M'. Acilius B.C. 150, the dramatic date of the *Cato Maior*.

Regulus, see **Atilius**.

Salinator, see **Livius**.

Scipio, see **Cornelius**.

Sempronius Tuditanus, M. (50), consul B.C. 240 with Claudius Cento.

Sempronius Tuditanus, P. (10), cos. B.C. 204, a prominent leader in the Second Punic War.

Servilius Ahala, C. (56), *magister equitum* when Cincinnatus was dictator, slayer of Spurius Maelius.

Servilius Caepio, Cn. (14), cos. 169.

Simonides of Ceos (23), a Greek lyric poet living B.C. 556–468. He wrote epigrams and elegiac poetry: among other things, an elegy on the

Greeks slain at Marathon and epitaphs for the Spartans who fell at Thermopylae.

Socrates (26, 59, 78), lived 470–399 B.C.; born near Athens, where he spent his life. After having served his time as a soldier he is said to have devoted himself to sculpture, but all his later years he gave to teaching. His method was by skillful questioning to lead his hearers to the conclusions he wished them to reach. He was the first philosopher to turn from Nature and the outer world, and give attention chiefly to questions connected with man. He laid great stress on the practical value of his ideas, emphasizing ethics rather than metaphysics. Cicero calls him the "fountain head of philosophy" (*de Or.* 1, 42) and the "parent of philosophy" (*de Fin.* 2, 1). He was wrongfully condemned to die by hemlock, on the ground that he was corrupting the youth. His last conversation was on the immortality of the soul. It is represented by Plato in his *Phaedo.*

Solon (26, 50, 72, 73), an Athenian lawgiver and poet, lived ca. B.C. 638–558. He held the office of archon B.C. 594, when he established a new constitution, oligarchical in nature, for the reform of the government of Athens. In B.C. 560, however, dissensions broke out and the supreme power was seized by Pisistratus, who made himself first tyrant of Athens.

The poetry of Solon, iambic and elegiac verses, expressed in many cases his ethical and political views.

Sophocles (22, 47), an Athenian tragic poet, lived B.C. 496–406. Seven of his tragedies are extant, and among these are three dealing with the Theban story of Oedipus: the *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Oedipus Coloneus*, and *Antigone.*

Statius, see Caecilius.

Stesichorus (23), one of the most important of the Greek lyric poets, born at Himera in Sicily, flourished about 600 B.C. He is said to have lived to be eighty.

Sulpicius Galus, C. (49), a scientist, soldier, and statesman. He accompanied L. Aemilius Paulus, father of the younger Scipio, as military tribune on his expedition against Perseus, and prophesied the eclipse of the moon which occurred just before the battle of Pydna, in which Paulus routed Perseus (Liv. 44, 37).

Terentius Afer, P. (65), a Latin comic poet (ca. B.C. 185–159). He was an African by birth, a slave at Rome, then a freedman and a friend of the younger Scipio, who was commonly supposed to give him more help than was justifiable in writing his plays. He wrote six plays, which are all extant. They are translations or adaptations of the Greek comic

poets Menander and Apollodorus. In style he is more polished than Plautus, and more consistent in following his Greek models, but he is less vigorous, and according to the judgment of Caesar he lacks the *vis comica.*

Terentius Varro, C. (75), colleague of Aemilius Paulus in the consulship of 216, the year after Fabius Maximus had been dictator. See notes on 75, *collegae; temeritatem.*

Themistocles (8, 21), Athenian statesman and general. It was his advice that led the Athenians to enlarge their fleet in preparation for the Persian invasion; this action, and his shrewd management, led to the victory over the Persians in the naval battle of Salamis, B.C. 480. But his popularity waned, and he was ostracized, B.C. 471. He was the great political rival of Aristides.

Tithonus (3), the husband of Eos (Aurora), a stock example of age. The gods gave the gift of immortality to him at her request, but she forgot to ask for perpetual youth. Life soon became a burden to him, and as a second boon he was changed into a cicada or katydid.

Tuditanus, see Sempronius.

Turpio, see Ambivius.

Valerius Corvinus, M. (60), one of the leading men at Rome in the fourth century B.C.; distinguished in the First Samnite War. His cognomen was derived from the circumstance that when he was engaged in single conflict with a Gaul, a raven perched on his helmet and attacked the Gaul with his beak and claws (Liv. 7, 26).

Valerius Flaccus, L. (42), closely connected with Cato in several stages of his career. He had a farm near Cato's Tusculan home, and is said to have been the person who first induced Cato to move to Rome (Plut. *Cat.* 3). He was Cato's colleague in the consulship B.C. 195, served in the same army with him under Acilius Glabrio at Thermopylae 191, and was his colleague in the censorship in 184.

Veturius Calvinus, T. (41), colleague of Sp. Postumius in the battle of the Caudine Forks.

Xenocrates (23), a Greek philosopher of Chalcedon, head of the Academy (339–314) after Plato, whose pupil he was. His works are lost.

Xenophon (30, 46, 59, 79), the Athenian historian, ca. B.C. 434–355. He is best known as the author of the *Anabasis*, the account of the return of the ten thousand Greeks who had gone to help Cyrus the younger against his brother Artaxerxes. Xenophon himself took part in the expedition. He wrote also the *Cyropaedia*, the story of the elder

Cyrus. He was the pupil of Socrates, and represents his master's views in several works — the *Symposium*, an account of an Athenian banquet, where Socrates is made chief speaker, the *Oeconomicus*, a treatise on the administration of the household and property in the form of a dialogue, where Socrates is again chief speaker, the *Memorabilia*, and the *Apology*. He wrote also other works on various subjects, of no interest in connection with the *Cato Maior*.

Zeno (23), of Citium, Cyprus (b. ca. B.C. 331, d. ca. B.C. 264), was the founder of the Stoic philosophy, so called from the *stoa* or porch where it was taught. He was a contemporary of Epicurus, and in theory diametrically opposed to most of his views. According to the Stoic philosophy, the primary substance was a fiery ether; from this the universe had developed, and into this it would eventually be resolved, then re-formed, and so on periodically. Deity was immanent in the universe and was identical with the fiery ether. The human soul was endowed with a partial immortality. After the death of the body it would continue to exist until the next destruction of the universe. . . . The Stoic ethics taught that virtue was the only good, that pleasure and pain were alike indifferent, that the wise man was the good and therefore the happy man, and all others were fools. This philosophy was introduced at Rome comparatively early (see Intr. p. vii). Scipio and Laelius were among its disciples, and Cicero reflects many of its views throughout his philosophical writings.

APPENDIX[1]

Variations from the text of the old edition and of Müller

SEC.	P.	L.	NEW EDITION	MÜLLER	OLD EDITION
1	**1**	1	ego	ego	te
2	**1**	17	me ipsum	me etiam ipsum	me ipsum
	2	1	laudari satis digne	digne satis laudari	laudari satis digne
3	**2**	6	Ceus	Cius	Ceus
4	**2**	22	difficilem, Scipio et Laeli	difficilem, Scipio et Laeli	Scipio et Laeli, difficilem
	2	25	ipsi	ipsi	ipsis
	2	30	putavissent	putassent	putavissent
5	**3**	10	descriptae	discriptae	descriptae

Descriptae; discriptae: both supported by good MSS. *Describere* means most commonly 'transcribe' or 'describe.' Here it must mean 'write out' (Reid). Cf. Vergil, *A.* 3, 445: *quaecumque in foliis descripsit carmina virgo*, and Cic. *pro Sest.* 91: *ut quodam tempore homines neque naturali neque civili iure descripto, fusi per agros ac dispersi vagarentur.*

Discribere would mean 'assign' if *partes* means 'rôles,' 'dispose' or 'arrange' if it means 'portions' or 'acts' of the play. But the figure here seems to be used not to compare the degrees of skill shown either in the assignment of the several rôles, or in the arrangement of the different portions of the play in relation to each other, but to that shown in working up each separate act. The earlier acts are satisfactory (youth etc.), and Nature is too good an artist to write the last act (old age) with less skill than these. An original *describere* might have been corrupted to *discribere* through the influence of a misinterpretation of *partes* as 'rôles.'

[1] The editor wishes here to acknowledge special indebtedness to the Critical Appendix in F. G. Moore's edition.

SEC.	P.	L.	NEW EDITION	MÜLLER	OLD EDITION
8	4	16	istud	istud	istuc
	4	21	Atheniensis	Atheniensis	Atheniensis sis
10	5	1	eum qui Tarentum recepit	eum qui Tarentum recepit	[eum qui Tarentum recepit]
13	6	11	quorsus	quorsum	quorsus
14	7	7	suasissem	suasi sed	suasissem

Suasissem; suasi sed: *suasissem* is found in most MSS. *Suasi sed* (Forchhammer) is a conjecture based on *suasisset* of one (or possibly two) MSS. It must be admitted that this would seem here the more natural construction. *Suasissem*, however, can be grammatically defended, as has been done by Hale, *Cum Constructions*, p. 189; and in view of its better support in the manuscripts it has been retained.

SEC.	P.	L.	NEW EDITION	MÜLLER	OLD EDITION
15	7	14	omnibus fere	fere omnibus	omnibus fere
16	7	31	et tamen	et tamen	etiam
17	8	6	similesque sunt	similesque sunt	[similesque sunt]
	8	9	ille clavum	ille autem clavum	ille clavum
	8	10	facit . . . facit	faciat . . . faciat	facit . . . facit

Facit . . . facit; faciat . . . faciat: if *facit* is read in the first place, it must be also in the second. It is therefore only the first that need be discussed here. The MS. authority for *faciat* in both places is better than for *facit.* But if *faciat* is read, (1) the *gubernator* is contrasted with the *iuvenes*, whereas there is no reason to assume that the *gubernator* was a *senex*; (2) the expression is weak and superfluous after the full description of the respective duties which precedes; (3) if the subject of the verb is *senex* or *senectus* (which it cannot be if *faciat* be read), the connection between this clause and the next, *non viribus . . . solet*, is much clearer and stronger. For the second then takes up and enlarges upon the thought of the first clause: old men do more important work than young men, for mental and moral powers are needed for these things more than physical strength and vigor, and the former are qualities of the old, the latter of the young.

SEC.	P. L.	NEW EDITION	MÜLLER	OLD EDITION
	8 11	multo maiora	multo maiora	maiora
18	8 18	Karthagini male	Karthagini, . . . cui male	Karthagini male
19	8 23	sextus	tertius	sextus
20	9 7	percontantur in	percontantur† ut est in	percontantur, ut est in
21	9 22	quis sibi	quis sibi	qui sibi
23	10 7	num Hesiodum	*om.* num	num Hesiodum
24	10 18	his	aliis	his
	10 22	saeclo	saeculo	saeclo
25	11 5	eumpse	eumpse	ipsum
28	12 13	persaepe	per se	persaepe
	12 14	composita	compta	composita

Composita; compta: there is so much uncertainty in the MSS. that the question of usage and meaning is here of especial importance as a ground of decision. *Compta* has better MS. authority than *composita*, and is often used of oratory. But its meaning, 'polished,' 'elaborate' (it is used by Quintilian, 10, 1, 79, to describe the style of Isocrates), is not at all what is wanted in the present passage.

What is wanted here is a word which may be paired as a synonym with *mitis*, as *quietus* above is with *remissus*. Moreover it should be a word that will apply to delivery as well as to the written style, as that is the thing especially under discussion. *Compositus* is used in exactly the sense desired by Seneca (*Ep.* 40, 2): *pronuntiatio, sicut vita, debet esse composita*, etc. (see note on text); and it is used in contrast to *concitatus* and actually as a synonym for *mitis* by Quintilian (6, 2, 9): *adfectus igitur hos concitatos, illos mites atque compositos esse dixerunt.* (Cf. also Quint. 11, 3, 110: *composita actio*).

SEC.	P. L.	NEW EDITION	MÜLLER	OLD EDITION
29	12 17	eas	illas	eas
	12 18	relinquimus	relinquemus	relinquimus
30	13 2	viginti et duos	viginti et duos	*om.* et
31	13 8	iam enim tertiam	tertiam iam enim	tertiam enim iam
	13 9	videbat	videbat	vivebat
34	14 23	ne sint	non sunt	ne sint

Ne sint; non sunt: the MSS. vary greatly, and *non sunt* has excellent support from them. But the context imperatively demands *ne sint*. Cf. Knapp, *Proceedings of the A. P. A.* 1898, p. vi.

SEC.	P.	L.	NEW EDITION	MÜLLER	OLD EDITION
35	**15**	5	sunt	sint	sunt
36	**15**	16	exercendo	exercendo	exercitando
	15	17	hos	hos	hoc
37	**15**	29	mos patrius	patrius mos	mos patrius
38	**15**	31	mancipata	emancipata	mancipata

Mancipata; emancipata: the MSS. favor *mancipata*, and, although other cases of this use in Cicero are doubtful, it is found in earlier and in later writers. Moore suggests that it may be conscious archaism.

SEC.	P.	L.	NEW EDITION	MÜLLER	OLD EDITION
	16	11	hae	haec	hae
41	**17**	19	longior See note on text	longinquior	longior
42	**17**	27	quorsus	quorsus	quorsum
	17	27	hoc	hoc	haec
	17	29	esse habendam	habendam esse	esse habendam
44	**18**	28	quorsus	quorsus	quorsum
	19	7	Marci filium	M. f.	Marci filium
	19	9	cereo	cereo	crebro
47	**20**	11	desideratur	desideratio	desideratur
	20	14	libenter vero	libenter vero	ego vero
	20	19	hoc non desiderare	hoc non desiderare	*om.* hoc
49	**20**	29	contentionum	contentionis	contentionum
	21	2	videbamus	†mori videbamus	videbamus
51	**21**	30	nec cuiquam	nec umquam	nec cuiquam
52	**22**	13	requietem	requiem	requietem
55	**23**	20	ea	haec	ea
	23	25	triumphavisset	triumphasset	triumphavisset
56	**24**	14	quam	*de* qua	quam
58	**24**	31	sibi habeant igitur	sibi habeant igitur	sibi igitur habeant

SEC.	P.	L.	NEW EDITION	MÜLLER	OLD EDITION
59	**25**	27	rite	ríte	recte
61	**26**	12	hunc unum	hunc unum	unum hunc
64	**27**	14	vestro	vestro	nostro
68	**29**	5	cum	quod	cum

For the defense of *cum* see Kühner, *Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*, vol. II, p. 881; Hale, *Cum Constructions*, p. 243; Elmer on Ter. *Phorm.* 996; Moore, *Cato Maior*, App., p. 177.

SEC.	P.	L.	NEW EDITION	MÜLLER	OLD EDITION
69	**29**	7	natura	natura	vita
	29	7	supremum	summum	supremum
	29	11	vixerat	vixit	vixerat
72	**30**	13	possis	possit	possis
73	**30**	28	elogium	elogium	elegium
76	**31**	26	studiorum	studiorum	rerum
77	**32**	7	tu Scipio tuque Laeli	P. Scipio tuque C. Laeli	tu Scipio tuque Laeli
78	**32**	26	oraculo Apollinis	oraculo Apollinis	Apollinis oraculo
	32	27	mihi persuasi	persuasi mihi	mihi persuasi
79	**33**	12	mihi	mihi	mei
80	**33**	20	numquam persuaderi	numquam persuaderi	persuaderi numquam
82	**34**	15	ad se pertinere	ad se ipsos pertinere	ad se pertinere
	34	15	ipse	ipse	ipso
	34	20	labore et contentione	aut labore aut contentione	labore et contentione
	34	25	inmortalitatem et gloriam	inmortalitatem et gloriam	inmortalitatis gloriam
83	**34**	29	cuius	cuius	cui
85	**36**	6	omnium rerum	omnium rerum	rerum omnium
	36	8	defatigationem	defectionem	defetigationem

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